

Iranica Antiqua, XII

**GREEKS AND PERSIANS
IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.**

**A STUDY IN CULTURAL CONTACTS
BEFORE ALEXANDER**

**PART II
THE MEETING OF TWO CULTURES**

BY

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III. ACHAEMENID AND GREEK ART

No race is so ready to adopt
foreign ways as the Persian.
(Herodotus, I. 135)

The political, economic, and social developments of the fourth century, especially in Asia Minor, are interesting in themselves. In the present line of investigation they serve also as preliminary warnings not to underestimate the power of the Persian empire or the influence of its ways. Although the evidence for these aspects could not be termed abundant, it is at least largely of types which the historian usually feels he can properly trust and evaluate.

When we turn to cultural interrelations between the Hellenic and Achaemenid worlds, the situation becomes more difficult. Literary remains of any significance from the Persian side are virtually absent; still, one must seek for relevant material which has survived independently of Greek transmission. This evidence, it quickly appears, is almost entirely artistic.

To handle information of such types is not easy in itself, but the attempt must be made even though it will be unconventional. Historians are, by and large, men of the written word, rarely inclined to draw conclusions of any significance from artistic products. As I have argued on other occasions, both with respect to early Greek civilization and to cultural changes in the Roman Empire, this reluctance is a shortsighted one. If we dismiss the physical evidence available in the present connection, we are stopped from any efforts at meaningful

exploration; Persian and Persian-influenced artistic survivals do really permit promising lines of attack.

The methodological problem is critical enough in itself, but an unconscious, omnipresent bias in conventional artistic judgment makes our investigations even more difficult. The tendency to view relations of Greeks and Persians solely from the Hellenic side distorts evaluation of their political connections, as we have seen; in the arts this attitude is even more prevalent—the vivifying force in Iranian art or in the progress of fourth-century Asia Minor is always sought in Greek impulses. The Persians after all were “much less cultivated than the Lydians”, to repeat Busolt’s characterization; a famous art critic summarily spoke of an “originality of incompetence” in the arts of Persia.¹

A brief suggestion of this bias may be given from the work of Ghirshman, a leading expert in Achaemenid art of the past generation. He admirably sums up some qualities of that art: “In its major creations Achaemenian art could not, or would not, relinquish its addiction for the grandiose, for dignity and immobility; moreover, it was always guided by the concept of the strict subservience of the people to the monarch and of the monarch to the Supreme God”. When Ghirshman goes on, however, to suggest that the Greeks found this art alien and inhuman, we must suspect that the opinions of Xenophon and Isocrates have blocked his own vision; and not everyone who has seen the many staircases on the massive platform of Persepolis would accept his depreciating pronouncement, “Only the King and his Persian and Median grandees could take pleasure in this picture of a muster of the peoples of the empire, whose purpose was to magnify the monarch’s power in the eyes of his subjects”.²

¹ B. Berenson, *Aesthetics and History* (Garden City, New York, 1954), p. 186, quoted by Carl Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae: Studies in Old Persian Architecture* (Acta universitatis upsaliensis, Boreas 1, 1970), p. 148.

² Roman Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964), p. 346. Beyond the more recent works on Iranian art cited in the following notes see also F. W. von Bissing, “Ursprung und Wesen der persischen Kunst”, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischer Akademie* 1927, Heft 1.

Contrast the observation that, “Noi abbiamo imparato sui banchi della scuola che la battaglia di Maratona è stata la vittoria della civiltà contro la barbarie. L’ho studiato anche io. Ma il giorno in cui mi sono trovato a pensare alla battaglia di Maratona

Achaemenid art is not only misprized as against Greek creativity; it has also been commonly dismissed as derivative and eclectic. We shall shortly consider the issue of its sources; but on its general character in this respect let me set down a sensitive evaluation recently advanced by Nylander, "The formal borrowings in Achaemenian art are only raw materials for a new totality, marked by a new, pervading style ... Most, if not all, Achaemenian works of architecture, sculpture, relief, toreutic, etc. partake of the same refined aesthetic language, saturated with beauty of line, and a calm, serious dignity not devoid of a subdued emotion. This unity is maintained for almost two centuries, a fact indicating some degree of congruence between the art and the society that created and used it".³ How diverse can be the judgments even of scholars at home in Iranian art!

The historian, then, must follow his own path; and in doing so, I would suggest from the outset, he must seek to avoid the general tendency of art historians, long concerned with the Hellenic background of Western esthetic views, to search everywhere for Greek influences. An approach from this point of view muffles and obscures the power and strength of that civilization which the Greek world met in Asia Minor and on other frontiers. Anyone who has moved across Persepolis in the hot sun of summer and climbed its intricately peopled staircases or has inspected the gold rhyta and other Achaemenid work which survives in museums and collections will sense that the coherent, firm spirit infusing these products was quite independent of Hellenic art; moreover it well reflects the power of the Persian empire. I would not argue that Achaemenid art could be valued esthetically as highly as that of the Greeks, especially insofar as it lacked the seeds of continuing evolution; but no comparative assessment entitles us to dismiss Persian achievements as historically uninstructive.

dall'alto delle rovine di Persepoli, sono stato obbligato a modificare questa concezione tradizionale; la battaglia di Maratona non è stata che la vittoria di una civiltà sopra un'altra civiltà", P. Quaroni, *La cultura italiana nei paesi europei dopo la seconda guerra mondiale* (Milan, 1965), p. 29, as quoted by G. Bolognesi, *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano*, pp. 570-71.

³ Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae*, p. 12; his introductory section is a masterful review of views on the sources of Achaemenid art.

Although it is not the purpose of these pages to present a full artistic history of Achaemenid Persia for its own sake, we must set down briefly some of the major characteristics and sources of this art, as contrasted with that of Greece. The backgrounds of the two styles are in many ways quite different; the point too often overlooked is the fact that their substratum was the same.⁴ Then we shall have to consider the development of Asia Minor itself, insofar as it can be discussed as a cultural province in the pre-Persian and early Persian periods, before taking up in Chapter 4 specific examples of the results when the two styles came into contact in that area. However subjective the judgments will be, significant conclusions can then be drawn.

Achaemenid Art: Character and Sources

Socially the decisive force in creating Near Eastern art was the fact that it was in the service of kings, whether they were local dynasts of small Syrian principalities or mighty rulers of empire. The conscious purpose was often to magnify the gods who protected their states, but the commissioning agents for major works were almost always monarchs or their noble aides. For the palaces and temples of the Assyrian warlords architects, sculptors, and other artists had developed a powerful synthesis of earlier Near Eastern styles. Achaemenid art, which evolved mainly out of this synthesis, is to be seen most clearly and magnificently in the royal palaces of Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadae, where stone was used in the architectural complexes; but the influences of Achaemenid style radiated far afield in the arts of the goldsmiths, seal-cutters, and other workers.

Certainly the artistic output of the Achaemenid period, even in Persia itself, was not entirely the work of native Iranian craftsmen. The payment tablets from the Persepolis Treasury (492-458) itemize workers from varied lands;⁵ in his building inscriptions at Susa

⁴ This point is not to be construed as suggesting any endorsement of the view that Indo-Europeans had a blood-inherited outlook on life.

⁵ Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, no. 15, is for Greeks; Ionian mothers turn up in PF 1224 of Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, and also one of the latter tablets (PF 1771) is in Greek. But Phrygian was used in one Fortification tablet as well as Aramaic.

Darius baldly and proudly lists the many peoples of his empire who provided labor, skills, and materials :

... that the earth was dug down and the gravel packed and the mud brick formed in molds, that the Babylonians did. The cedar timber was brought from a mountain named Lebanon; the Assyrians brought it to Babylon, and from Babylon the Carians and Ionians brought it to Susa. Sissoo wood was brought from Gandara and from Carmania. The gold which was used here was brought from Sardis and from Bactria. The stone—lapis lazuli and carnelian—was brought from Sogdiana. The turquoise was brought from Chorasmia. The silver and copper were brought from Egypt. The ornamentation with which the wall was adorned was brought from Ionia. The ivory was brought from Ethiopia, from India, and from Arachosia. The stone pillars were brought from a place named Abiradush in Elam. The artisans who dressed the stone were Ionians and Sardians. The goldsmiths who wrought the gold were Medes and Egyptians. Those who worked the inlays were Sardians and Egyptians. Those who worked the baked brick (with figures) were Babylonians. The men who adorned the wall were Medes and Egyptians.⁶

Not the least impressive aspect of this list is its revelation that Darius' architects were able to search out and use the talents and materials of empire, and create therefrom a unified structure.⁷

At Pasargadae, the capital of Cyrus, the alien ingredients had not yet been fully synthesized, but when one comes down from this high upland plain to Persepolis, deliberately created by Darius near the ancient center of Anshan, smooth, refined harmony has been achieved. The enduring strength of the Achaemenid style over the next two

⁶ Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 168; Kent, *Old Persian*, pp. 142-44. The translation "sissoo" (a very durable deciduous tree) is due to I. Ghershevitch, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIX (1957), pp. 317-20. To this copy (DSF), which may have been intended for display, have been added as a result of discoveries in 1969-70 DSz (Elamite) and DSaa (Akkadian), which were certainly foundation inscriptions; F. Vallat, "Deux inscriptions élamites de Darius 1^{er} (DSf et DSz)", *Studia Iranica*, I (1972), pp. 3-13, and *Revue d'assyriologie*, LXIV (1970), pp. 149-60.

⁷ As C. Nylander, *Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology* I (Tehran, 1968), pp. 312-13, properly observes, one must keep in mind that this inscription was "a propagandistic demonstration of the vast resources of the empire and a glorification of its ruler", which omits the labor of the Elamites and undoubtedly others.

centuries surely attests its congruence, as Nylander observed, with the society which produced it.

To comment briefly on the sources of Persian art, its principal thread must be sought in Mesopotamian evolution from Sumerian days onward. A procession of gift bearers, one of the major subjects of two great Persepolis staircases, occurs already on a Protoliterate vase from Warka (Uruk); another theme of the Persepolis staircases, the lion attacking the hindquarters of a bull, appears on a Warka ewer; the use of the rosette as a filling ornament, so prominent at Persepolis, can be seen on an Early Dynastic relief from Khafaje; and other third-millennium parallels can be adduced for motifs frequently used over 2000 years later in Persia.⁸ The seal with the name of Darius now in the British Museum (Plate I.a) betrays its Mesopotamian inheritance not only in the use of cuneiform script to give "I, Darius, king", in Old Persian and Elamite and "I, Darius, great king" in Babylonian, but also in its basic pattern of composition, framed between trees. The vigor of the rampant lion, however, as well as the scene itself are direct reflections of the Assyrian royal style, and have a rough quality which is usually subdued and domesticated in the refinement of Achaemenid art.⁹ The companion sealing on Plate I.b, the hero or king stabbing a griffin, presents a theme which can be traced back into late Assyrian royal art.¹⁰

Yet not all the sources either of Assyrian or of Persian art can be found in a simple Mesopotamian inheritance. Especially from the time of Darius the men who worked for the Persian rulers drew upon the great body of Egyptian artistic motifs, though not often upon the conservative artistic spirit of Egyptian art itself. An outward exception is the statue of Darius recently found at Susa, which was carved by Egyptian sculptors and brought probably around the Arabian

⁸ Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (4th impression; Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 26, 29, 41.

⁹ BM WA 89132; J. C. Greenfield, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXII (1962), p. 298, would assign it to the time of Darius II; J. Yoyotte, *Revue d'assyriologie*, XLVI (1952), pp. 165-67; D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia* (London, 1959), pl. 100.

¹⁰ A. J. Sachs, "The Late Assyrian Royal Seal-type", *Iraq*, XV (1953), pp. 167-70; A. R. Millard, "The Assyrian Royal Seal-type Again", *Iraq*, XXVII (1965), pp. 12-16; Bivar, *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, pp. 46-51.

peninsula by ship; but preliminary studies of this important work emphasize both the degree to which representation of dignitaries was changing at this time along the Nile and also the fact that much in this particular statue reflects "the sober, frozen majesty of Persepolitan sculpture".¹¹

More important than Egyptian influences, but somewhat difficult to disentangle, was the effect of North Syrian artists, active from the early centuries of the first millennium onward. These workers were indebted in turn to some limited Hittite influences and to more distant Mesopotamian prototypes. The steles of funeral banquets or the squat lions of Carchemish may strike a modern eye as provincial, but North Syria was a point from which influences radiated eastward as well as into Asia Minor and into the nascent world of Greek art.¹²

The native arts of Iran and of the lands onto which Persia opened in the northeast should also have provided themes and a spirit for Achaemenid art, and valiant efforts have been made in recent years to relate the remarkable bronzes of Luristan and the remains of Urartian buildings as well as the scanty evidence of early art on the Eurasian steppes to later Persian developments.¹³ One of the most successful of these attempts has been the link drawn between Urartian tower temples and the similar structures of Cyrus at Pasargadae (Zandan-i-Suleiman) and of Darius at Naqsh-i-Rustam (Ka'bah-i-

¹¹ D. Stronach in the joint publication of the statue by M. Kervran, F. Vallat, and J. Yoyotte, *Journal asiatique*, CCLX (1972), pp. 235-66.

¹² E. E. Akurgal, *The Art of Greece: Its Origins in the Mediterranean and Near East* (New York, 1968), p. 157, notes that we do not yet have "a precise chronological sequence for Syrian art". W. S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1965), is not of direct use for our period; E. M. Yamauchi, *Greece and Babylon: Early Contacts between the Aegean and the Near East* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967), provides a number of citations. On Greek indebtedness to Syria see also F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühhellenistische Kunst* (Leipzig, 1912); H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931); T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and Their Near Eastern Neighbours* (London, 1957); and an extensive further bibliography suggested in my *Origins of Greek Civilization, 1100-650 B.C.*, pp. 192-220.

¹³ See especially Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, p. 371, who ascribes to Luristan influences an inorganic structure, creative fantasy, and remarkable originality but distinguishes a more static nature in Achaemenid art (p. 346). In *Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology*, I, pp. 83-91, the same scholar drew attention to Elamite influences; and in *A Locust's Leg*, ed. W. B. H. Henning (London, 1962), pp. 85 ff., to Urartian sources.

Zardusht):¹⁴ the continuation of such themes as that of the horse in flying gallop will recur in later pages.¹⁵

The most important issue connected with the rise of Persian art, as far as the present discussion is concerned, is the degree to which Greek influence was exerted; for all too often the achievements of Pasargadae, Susa, and Persepolis have simply been attributed to the Greeks. A mode for such influence has been sought in Darius' building inscriptions, which refer to Ionians "who dressed the stone", and also in the listing of Greek names in the payment tablets of Persepolis; specific illustrations of a Hellenic presence have been asserted in the form of the Achaemenid capital and in details of the style of the staircases at Persepolis, such as the robes.¹⁶ A seated Greek statue of Demeter was found in the Treasury at Persepolis, as were also Greek sealings; Pliny the Elder records Persian enthusiasm for Greek artists.¹⁷

¹⁴ David Stronach, "Urartian and Achaemenian Tower Temples", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXVI (1967), pp. 278-88.

¹⁵ Logically, however, one faces a problem in the fact that Median art cannot clearly be defined at this time; cf. Edith Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1965), pp. 134, 138. The artistic place of the intriguing finds at Hasanlu, Marlik, and Ziwiye, for example, remains to be established.

¹⁶ Gisela Richter, *Archaic Greek Art* (New York, 1949), pp. 178 ff.; *American Journal of Archaeology*, L (1946), pp. 15-30 (cf. H. Frankfort, *ibid.*, pp. 6-14); A. Moortgat, "Hellas und die Kunst der Achämeniden", *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, XXI (1926), pp. 3-39 (republished separately at Osnabrück, 1972).

The debate over the origins of the Persian robe now seems to have lost its over-emphasis on Greek influences. See Anna Roes, "The Achaemenid Robe", *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, VIII (1951), pp. 137-41; Bernard Goldman, "Origin of the Persian Robe", *Iranica Antiqua*, IV (1964), pp. 132-52, who seeks an origin in Luristan; Georgina Thompson, "Iranian Dress in the Achaemenid Period", *Iran*, III (1965), pp. 121-26; P. Beck, "A Note on the Reconstruction of the Achaemenid Robe", *Iranica Antiqua*, IX (1972), pp. 116-22; Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, p. 347, derives the drapery pattern from Akkadian sources. One may hope that Giuseppe Tilia will soon publish his reconstruction of the patterns on the robe of Darius (on the doorjambs of his palace at Persepolis); the geometric regularity with which these patterns were constructed shows admirably the decorative character of Achaemenid art and also, in that very regularity, the differences between Iranian and Hellenic art.

¹⁷ Pliny, *h.n.* 34.68 on Telephanes, whom J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (London, 1962), p. 127, thinks probably "the grand master of the Persepolis friezes". The Demeter statue was published by Cleta Olmstead, "A Greek Lady from Persepolis", *American Journal of Archaeology*, LIV (1950), pp. 10-18; as it now stands in the Tehran museum it illuminates sharply the contrasts between Achaemenid and Greek sculpture.

In recent years, however, the effort to magnify Hellenic sources beyond due measure has met its coup de grâce, and rightly so. Initially, at Pasargadae, the technical details of stone dressing do appear to be indebted to Ionia, or at least to western Asia Minor; as I observed earlier, the Assyrian, Egyptian, Elamite and other ingredients at this first site of Persian power are also incompletely synthesized. The rosettes on a fragment probably from the door of the Zendan-i-Suleiman at Pasargadae are likewise markedly different from those of the Persepolis staircases in having a pointed sepal between each petal, in Greek style.¹⁸ At Persepolis itself an earlier wall has recently been discovered behind the facade of the eastern Apadana staircase, which exhibits a form of block-edging never found elsewhere in the Near East but common in Greece; sketches of bearded heads and of Heracles, incised on stones at Persepolis, were certainly the work of Greek craftsmen. But even at Pasargadae the western influences were but an "episode",¹⁹ and the unity of style at Persepolis cannot be attributed to Hellenic influences.

¹⁸ Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae*, p. 148; cf. his earlier "Clamps and Chronology", *Iranica Antiqua*, VI (1966), pp. 130-46, and his useful summation, "Foreign Craftsmen in Achaemenian Persia", *Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology*, I, pp. 311-18. He discusses the rosettes in this latter essay (pp. 314-15) and in *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXX (1966), p. 374, no. 17. The assignment of the piece to the Zendan is due to G. Tilia and D. Stronach, the latter of whom illustrates the fragment well in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXVI (1967), Plate XXV.A-B. See also G. Gullini, "Tradizione e originalità nell'architectura achaemenide a Pasargade", *Parola del Passato*, XXVII (1972), pp. 13-39.

¹⁹ Ann Britt Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs* (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Reports and Memoirs, XVI, 1972) pp. 127-65, where she comments on the use of the toothed chisel on p. 161 (on anathyrosis in Iran see also Nylander, *Ionians at Pasargadae*, pp. 58-62). The Heracles graffito, lost at sea in 1941, was published by Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, plate 31.2. For Greek quarry inscriptions see G. Pugliese Carratelli, *East and West*, XVI (1966), pp. 31-34.

For more recent positions on the problem of Hellenic influence see G. Goossens, "Artistes et artisans étrangers en Perse sous les Achéménides", *La Nouvelle Clio*, I-II (1949-50), pp. 32-44, and more especially J. P. Guépin, "On the Position of Greek Artists under Achaemenid Rule", *Persica*, I (1963-64), pp. 34-43. Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae*, p. 16, notes that Ionians appear "only four times in 1600 tablets and never in any leading position". Carratelli (previous note), however, would take Pytharchos as a "contractor". As Professor Cameron observes to me, the problem of the legal position of Greeks at Persepolis would be advanced if there were agreement on the meaning of the term "kur-taš" which appears in the payment tablets (from the OP "garda"); see the bibliography in Matthew Stolper's dissertation cited above in Chap. 1.

The kings who established the Persian empire, after all, had to seek for an artistic expression of that greatness in the one source which could quickly provide an adequate framework for palatial pomp, viz., the royal tradition of Near Eastern art. So too they directed the creation of a cuneiform alphabetic script for Old Persian, which also has considerable artistic power.²⁰ The success of the artists who worked for the Achaemenid dynasty can be suggested here by the majesty of the audience scene, now in the Tehran museum, illustrated on Plate VIII.a; only an empire of self-assured power could have produced such a calm, arrogant work.

This particular relief, together with its mirror image still in the Treasury at Persepolis, demonstrates another fundamental characteristic of the Achaemenid style. Recently it has been discovered that both were originally placed in the centers of the great Apadana staircases and were removed at a later date to the Treasury.²¹ In their places scenes of Persian guardsmen were inserted, which are still visible. When one knows the fact of substitution, it is possible to feel slight differences between the new reliefs and the earlier stonework on either side; but in all essentials the artistic style is precisely the same.

Once established, in other words, the Achaemenid artistic forms so satisfied the needs of the rulers and their aides that there was very little change over those two centuries in which Greek arts evolved continuously through the classic Hellenic style. This is not to say that Persepolis, for instance, was all laid out at one moment; building and alteration went on continuously, but within the same architectural and sculptural framework—just as the parade of royal tombs at Naqsh-i-Rustam and above Persepolis was all formed in the same style, quite different from the stepped platform of the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae. The power of the Persian artistic synthesis must still

As an incidental revelation of the influences obviously at work in Persian art, I may note that of the smaller objects from Persepolis, Susa, etc. on display in the Tehran museum six have hieroglyphics or are clearly Egyptian in origin; eight items bear cuneiform inscriptions; none have Greek lettering. The detailed catalogues in Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, present the same picture.

²⁰ G. L. Windfuhr, "Notes on the Old Persian Signs", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XII (1970), pp. 121-25, tersely but neatly demonstrates the deliberate creation of the Old Persian script, 18 symbols with straight lines and 18 with wedges.

²¹ Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, pp. 173-240; cf. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, p. 168.

impress a modern observer, even though he may be steeped in Greek art; in its own day this style affected all the fringe areas of the empire, from the steppelands of the northeast to the stubborn, conservative natives of the Nile valley.²² We may properly expect to find its influences radiating into Asia Minor as well.

Greek and Persian Art

The Greeks did not have kings, except in the primitive societies of the Dark Ages before 700 and in a few survivals thereafter in Sparta and Cyprus. Hellenic art, at least in historic times, must be called citizen art or, perhaps better in many ways, an aristocratic art. Far back, in the second millennium, the kings of Mycenae, Pylos, and elsewhere aped Near Eastern patterns of palace bureaucracy, and the remains of the Treasury of Atreus in the British Museum or the grave steles from Schliemann's grave circle have interesting similarities in spirit and in purpose with the contemporary achievements of the Anatolian artists working for Hittite kings. The progress of civilization in the Aegean in the second and first millennia B.C. cannot be fully understood if one omits the spur and models provided by the older patterns of the Near East.

The historic period of Greek civilization proper began just after the time of the Homeric epics and Late Geometric (especially Dipylon) pottery. The importance of renewed contact with the Near East, especially North Syria, has become more and more evident in recent decades, but was always unmistakable in the evident indebtedness of the Greek alphabet to Near Eastern origins.²³ In literature and the arts, in truth, the influence of the Near East on Greece has even reached the stage of exaggeration, for the thrust of Aegean develop-

²² On Egyptian reactions see Amandry, *Antike Kunst*, I (1958), p. 16; Smith, *Interconnections*, p. 58. The emphasis on the continuous development of Persepolis I owe to the kind observations of the Tiliás; as they noted, even the shape of the external wall of the platform could change.

²³ The farther fringe of claims for Greek indebtedness is represented by various works by Cyrus H. Gordon; cf. M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden, 1965), for the Mycenaean era.

ment from the eighth century on was always to force the Hellenic expression more and more into what Aristotle would have termed its proper form.

The nature of this form or spirit, as manifested in Greek art and architecture, does not require long analysis at this point. The arts of Greece, a relatively poverty-stricken land, were not on the whole as luxurious in precious metals or as grandiose in scale as were the works commissioned by Near Eastern monarchs; the Acropolis is only half the size of the terrace at Persepolis. Speaking generally, one feels that Greek art was more vibrant, more human in the sense that "ordinary people" appeared on vases, gravestones, and sculptured processions; above all, these human beings are *active* in a sense which Achaemenid art, decorative and static, flaunting and intimidating, rarely exhibits.

Generalizations of this order are always open to exception; for not all the products of Greek craftsmen are esthetically pleasing, and decorative intent was not totally lacking. Still, we can very generally sense the presence of a Greek artist even when a coin is badly rubbed or a vase survives only in tiny sherds. On the other hand, it is not appropriate to contrast Greek and Persian art as totally distinct. The procession of maids and youths bringing Athena her *peplos* on the Parthenon frieze is very different in spirit from the array of Persian and Median nobles and tribute-bringers on the Persepolis reliefs; even so, both are processions of figures which to our eyes are recognizably human. The well-known statue of a dog on his haunches from Persepolis, again, is heavier and more decorative in spirit than are representations of dogs in Greek sculpture, but a fundamental kinship of artistic character is evident. In the end, if we look at Persian and Greek art as a totality as against that of the Mayas or the Chinese, the similarities will suddenly become far more obvious than the differences.

Both cultures evolved out of the same Eastern Mediterranean background, even if political, social, and artistic developments forced the two into separate paths. There is no reason to assume that men reared in one culture found the products of the other totally alien or unattractive, or indeed that these works must always have been quite different in appearance.

The Development of Asia Minor in the Early First Millennium

A superficial examination of maps has often led students to describe Asia Minor as a "bridge" between east and west. This metaphor takes little account of the desert uplands and rugged mountains of most of the area and corresponds poorly to historical reality;²⁴ during prehistoric and early historic times contacts were mainly by sea, even though coasting the southern mountainous shore of the peninsula can be dangerous. The area, however, is the one which we shall examine most closely for evidence of cultural contacts in the Persian period; for Iranian culture, coming from the east, and Greek civilization, moving inland from the cities, could and did meet here.

During the Hittite period, in the second millennium B.C., the peoples in the interior of Asia Minor rose briefly to a civilized plane, almost entirely under the impetus of influences from Mesopotamia. After the collapse of the Hittite realm about 1200 they lost the marks of civilization, such as organized states and the use of writing, just as did Greece after the burning of the Mycenaean palaces. Traditionally refugees from the unrest in Greece fled to Asia Minor and settled along the western coast; as we saw earlier, Greek states on this coast were thriving at least by the eighth century. The western interior remains dark until a Phrygian kingdom rose in this century, only to be smashed by an incursion of Cimmerian nomads early in the seventh century.

Farther to the east, in modern Armenia, the kingdom of Urartu offered serious opposition to the Assyrians. Its smiths made use of native ores to create a variety of metal objects, including great cauldrons. Insofar as these products were influenced by outside patterns, the source appears to be North Syria; but both the technological skill and the refinement of the "Assurattaschen" or figurines riveted to the rims of the bowls, are to a considerable extent the reflection of native originality. This metalwork was so popular that it was exported to Greece and even to Etruria; naturally there have been

²⁴ C. W. Blegen, "The Royal Bridge", *The Aegean and the Near East* (New York, 1956), pp. 32-35, put the matter directly. More recently M. J. Mellink, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXV (1971), p. 161, simply observes that the idea of a bridge is "to be met with thorough skepticism".

efforts, already noted, to detect Persian indebtedness to Urartian sources.²⁵

After the eventual defeat of the Cimmerians by the Assyrian empire a new major kingdom arose in western Asia Minor, that of Lydia. The excavations now under way at the capital of Sardis, as well as earlier work in this century, have found Greek pottery, but the language of government and the general character of its culture were non-Greek. From 547 on the Persians conquered and united all of Asia Minor for the first time in its history.

To describe the cultural conditions of the peninsula at the point of Persian conquest is as difficult as to assess its economic and social character, and for much the same reasons. In the days of Cyrus most of Asia Minor still lived on a level which did not produce major physical remains; crystallization around cities or under the direction of a conscious aristocracy had occurred to a very limited degree. The most direct illustration of the situation in many parts of the interior is provided by its monochrome and occasionally painted pottery, even though the detailed ceramic history of Asia Minor in the early Iron Age is still to be written.

One recent student finds over-all similarity between the products of Anatolia and North Syria, but no close connections either to Greece or to Iran; ceramic change in inherited patterns took place very slowly. Inland areas were unwilling to innovate even where Greek painted pottery was known; only amid the grey monochrome ware of Phrygia did local reaction to Hellenic impulses show itself.²⁶ When one recalls that remarkable response to Greek influence which produced the

²⁵ E.g. Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, pp. 295 and elsewhere (Herzfeld first made this suggestion apparently, in *Klio*, VIII [1903], p. 33, n. 2). On the debated problems of Urartian influence in the west cf. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, pp. 23-69, and the bibliography listed in my *Origins of Greek Civilization*, p. 202 n. 5.

²⁶ Bittel, *Hattusha*, p. 145, suggests Persian influence on Phrygian ware in the fifth century, but greater influence from East Greece vases; cf. M. J. Mellink, *Anadolu araştırmaları*, II (1965), pp. 324-25; G. Metzger, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, IV (Paris, 1972), p. 64, notes the limited study of the Iron Age pottery. N. P. Bayne's dissertation (Oxford, 1963) on "The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia" does not seem to have been published; there are only summaries of reports in 1972 by G. Kenneth Sams and F. A. Winter, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXVII (1973), pp. 226 and 232.

bucchero ware of Etruria, the conservative character of inland Asia Minor becomes the more striking.

Asia Minor, in sum, was by no means a blank tablet on which foreign influences could write their messages with complete freedom; but it is not at this point possible to disentangle the influences of Hittite, Mesopotamian, and native forces inherited from the second millennium. In assessing the entry of Hellenic and Achaemenid artistic forms into this area, nonetheless, we must keep in mind the strong possibility that native Anatolian workmen were responsible for most of the artistic product of Asia Minor in the Persian era.

This product, unfortunately, has not been much sought in archeological explorations of Anatolia; scholars have been interested either in much earlier times or in later periods,²⁷ and have at best dealt with Greek sites of the fifth and fourth centuries. No center important primarily in Persian times has been extensively excavated for its own sake. The continuing exploration of Sardis has penetrated only to a limited degree into Persian and Lydian levels; Dascylium was investigated very briefly.²⁸ In periodical surveys of recent finds there is often brief mention of tombs or other remains of Persian times, but this material is difficult to date; and in any case it is not much considered.²⁹

Border areas, to be sure, always present delicate challenges for the differentiation of the many diverse threads which may enter into

²⁷ Bay Necati Dolunay informed me that the only major Turkish scholar working on the Persian period is Akurgal (who devotes eight pages, including illustrations, to the era in *Die Kunst Anatoliens*).

²⁸ A brief report on Dascylium was given by Akurgal in *Anatolia*, I (1956), pp. 15-24; the excavations at Sardis are reported year by year in *American Journal of Archaeology* (the earlier excavations were described in *Sardis*, ed. H. C. Butler and others [1922 ff.]).

²⁹ C. H. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1971), reports on one area in some detail. Other examples are the tomb at Belevi near Ephesus (F. Miltner, Ephesus [Vienna, 1958], pp. 10-12; a new study by Sevim Buluç is promised), which was based on the Nereid tomb according to *Fouilles de Xanthos*, III, p. 159; the stepped Pyramid tomb near Sardis (J. M. Cook, *Archaeological Reports for 1970-71*, p. 40); the tomb of Seç Tepe (ibid., p. 37). If a student aware of unpublished as well as published finds were to plot on a map the places where Persian tombs have been discovered, the results would be more extensive than is recognized; and distinction of Persian forms of burial from those of local Anatolian or Hellenic inspiration would be facilitated.

their artistic products. The conventional method of treatment in the district which we are especially considering has been to take Hellenism as a yardstick and to measure every item by the degree to which it could be said to exhibit Greek characteristics. The comment that "we are still a long way from understanding the nature of the wider Aramaic-Greek culture of Syria and Mesopotamia and how it affected the attitudes and beliefs of those who grew up in it" might apply to many centuries; it was actually penned to reflect conditions in the Roman Empire.³⁰

A purely Hellenic approach will not suffice, and it is comforting to discover some scholarly awareness of its limitations. Over the past two generations the volume of evidence from Asia Minor has grown; its variety has been enlarged; and material already known has been studied more carefully. Moreover, the intriguing issues involved in the interweaving of cultures are beginning to be approached in a more sympathetic light which does not simply classify material as Greek or barbaric copy: "'Graeco-Persian' used to be thought of as an incidental and provincial mannerism; it will probably turn out to be a lively, well-developed and original blend of ancient Near Eastern, Anatolian and E Greek elements".³¹

Whatever conclusions we reach on the artistic story of Asia Minor, they will not be as neat and firm as is the development of the arts in Etruria, where Greek impulses were directly reflected in the rise of sculpture or in the painting of tombs such as those of Tarquinia—though even here scholars are nowadays more aware of native inheritances from Villanovan and other cultures. In Anatolia the Greeks met both a conservative native population and also another great, well-developed culture. The proper line of interpretation is that suggested recently: "Wherever the Greeks came up against powerful originality among their neighbors, they strengthened this originality rather than overwhelming it".³²

³⁰ F. Millar, *Journal of Roman Studies*, LXI (1971), p. 17.

³¹ M. J. Mellink, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXV (1971), p. 162.

³² K. Schefold, *Le Rayonnement*, p. 404.

IV. ARTISTIC INTERCONNECTIONS

In searching for artistic materials which may illuminate the facets of Greco-Persian cultural connections, the most impressive sites are the great Persian capitals and fortresses of Susa, Pasargadae, and Persepolis and also Athens and the major Greek shrines. These majestic palaces and temples, however, are most useful for our purposes in displaying Achaemenid and Hellenic artistic styles in their purest form; major examples of interpenetration between the two words will not be found in these places.

The Persians did carry trophies of victory to their homeland; a *status* of Demeter was found at Persepolis, and literary sources attest the transport of others, such as the first statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton from Athens. Conquerors over the ages have done the same; earlier the Elamite sackers of Babylonia had lugged the massive diorite slab bearing the code of Hammurapi and a statue of Sargon to Susa, and Assyrian warlords had assembled a great body of loot in their palaces. Persian sculptors were not thereby led to imitate Greek models by carving in the round to any major extent, unlike the eager Etruscan imitators of Greek ideas and styles; the one full-scale statue thus far found in Iran was the product of Egyptian artists.¹ Persian kings were willing to make use of the skills of a great variety of workers, as we have already seen, but only within a firmly defined Achaemenid style. Even Greek pottery has turned up to a very limited extent in Persian contexts;² the most valuable testimony for Iranian interest in Greek arts lies in a few handfuls of sealings from Persepolis, which will be considered shortly.

On the other side the Greeks had no chance to gain major mementoes of the Persian capitals themselves down to Alexander's conquest. From the camp of Xerxes after the victory of Plataea and from Byzantium a little later the victors did pick up odds and ends; the tent of Xerxes was dedicated on the Acropolis, and the cables of his

¹ Von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser*, plate 69, illustrates a small head in lapis lazuli; the statue of Darius was cited above in Chapter 3. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, p. 31, notes fragments of a huge limestone statue at Susa; see generally Ann E. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture* (Leiden, 1971) (*non vidi*).

² C. Clairmont, "Greek Pottery from the Near East", *Berytus*, XI (1955), pp. 85-141.

Hellespontine bridge at Delphi; helmets and other spoils of war could be inscribed and presented to the major shrines.³ Although Etruscan bucchero pottery appears even on the Acropolis, objects of Achaemenid origin (including gold) do not seem to have been discovered in mainland Greece down through our period. Themes of Near Eastern derivation could occasionally be used, as on an interesting stele found near Museum Hill in Athens; but they had no major influences on Hellenic arts, which were as firmly established as the Achaemenid by the fifth and fourth centuries.⁴ Both cultures were too well set to be seriously responsive to outside stimuli.

The area which most repays examination is Asia Minor. This was a frontier between Greece and Persia; moreover, its native patterns were so little elaborated that local artists and patrons might well be eager to exploit outside forms and ideas. Which would they choose, Achaemenid or Hellenic? To form an answer we can draw into play four major types of physical remains: seals (or gems); metalwork and kindred objects; sculpture and painting, and the widespread coinage of the peninsula. This evidence is disjointed, even scanty in some fields; but it will suffice to suggest perhaps unexpected conclusions.

In these media we must consider the *forms* of expression, but all too often stylistic analyses have been satisfied simply to emphasize the degree to which any form was indebted to Hellenic models. Equally important, though much ignored, is the *content* of the several types of artistic expression. This distinction is one to which attention will be drawn in following pages; indeed, content exercised a growing influence on borrowed form.

³ Dorothy Burr Thompson, "The Persian Spoils in Athens", *The Aegean and the Near East* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1956), pp. 281-91; cf. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I, no. 14.

⁴ A. D. H. Bivar, "A Persian Monument at Athens, and Its Connections with the Achaemenid State Seals", *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970), pp. 43-61, a learned and ingenious essay though its effort to identify the stele as a proxeny decree in the time of Mazaeus is not convincing.

In Ionian black-figure king Cambyses may appear on a fragment from Old Smyrna about 520-10 B.C. (J. M. Cook, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, LX [1965], pp. 136-37), but this is no more significant than the portrayal of Croesus (*CVA France* 9, pl. 414 (Louvre 6), G 197) or schematic Persians on vases or references to textiles such as Aristophanes, *Frogs* 937.

Seals

The class of objects which first received the name Greco-Persian was an unusual group of seals/gems published by Furtwängler at the turn of the century and so labelled by him.⁵ True Achaemenid seals were commonly cylinders, like that of Darius, or stamps in conical form (Plate I); their motifs were derived from Assyrian and Babylonian prototypes. In Furtwängler's group, on the other hand, the shapes were pyramidal or later a humped scaraboid, in imitation of fifth-century Greek seals. Some of these seals were even cut as prisms, with four engraved sides, or in tabloid form. The material likewise was distinctive, for blue chalcedony was much preferred by their makers. While the themes often had an Iranian flavor, the style impressed Furtwängler as essentially Greek. Hence the hyphenated title Greco-Persian, by which they have since been known.

To begin our investigation with these tiny objects, which have room for only limited decoration, may appear bizarre; but in truth one could select no better class of objects. The major points of view which have been expressed about the artistic relations of Greeks and Persians appear in sharp contrast in the many discussions of these gems; and by now it may be possible to discern the direction in which to look for a solution. Even in their subjects, moreover, the seals throw a narrow but fascinating light on the milieu of their owners.

Sometimes the subject is the Great King himself. In one example published by Furtwängler the king is killing a rebel, in a purely Persian style; on another from Kertsch in south Russia the king with tiara and bow and spear opposes a Greek hoplite, a second hoplite prostrate before the two. Over all is the winged sundisk, but the figure of Ahura Mazda himself does not appear in Greco-Persian seals as

⁵ Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, III (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 117-24. Subsequent major treatments include M. E. Maximowa, "Persische Kleinkunst in Klein-Asien nach der Perserkriege", *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1928, cols. 647-78; the essays by Gisela Richter and H. Seyrig in *Archaeologica orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952), pp. 189-94 and 195-202; N. M. Nikulina, "Concerning East Greek and Greco-Persian Art From Glyptic Materials of the 5th-4th c.", *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 1969.3, pp. 106-20 (and also *Antike Kunst*, XIV.2 [1971], pp. 90-106); and above all John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London, 1970), pp. 303-58, handsomely illustrated and generally perceptive.

it does in Achaemenid work.⁶ On a cylinder the king is worshipping Anaitis on the back of a lion (Plate II.b); in the same tomb at Kertsch in which this was found together with a coin of Lysimachus there was a prism decorated with a nude dancing girl, a Greek bearded man, two cocks, and a Persian bearded man with tiara, long girdled robe, and bow (Plate III.c).⁷ Other gems show standing Persian guardsmen (Plate IV.d), a horse in Near Eastern pose with sundisk (Plate II.c),⁸ and above all horsemen. In a group which Seyrig isolated the horseman is defeating a Greek hoplite (Plate II.d).⁹ Elsewhere he is vigorously spearing a lion, boar, deer, or goat, or simply riding (Plate III.a). In these types the horse is usually in full gallop, legs stretched out in front and in rear. Hunting on foot also occurs (Plate III.b), but less commonly.¹⁰ Sometimes the Persian figures appear to be derived fairly directly from Achaemenid types, but often they are in what can only be called a Greek style, far more lively and picturesque than in Persian seals proper.

Not all representations of Persians necessarily fall into the Greco-Persian class; I illustrate only one example of what appears to be a purely Greek seal (Plate IV.b), to suggest the difference in detail of treatment and over-all unity of composition.¹¹ Nor, on the other hand, do the Greco-Persian seals themselves always bear Persians. In the group, as distinguished by shape, material, and style, there are numerous seals showing single animals or women, the latter with fuller

⁶ Furtwängler, III, p. 119, fig. 79; p. 121, fig. 83-84. Boardman, p. 306, observes the absence of Ahura Mazda.

⁷ Boardman, no. 878 = Furtwängler, III, p. 120, fig. 81 (Leningrad). Boardman, no. 861 = Furtwängler, III, p. 121, fig. 93 (Leningrad; cf. L. Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique*, 1881, p. 86; 1882, pl. 5, no. 3). The cock, it may be remembered, was connected directly with Persia (Aristophanes, *Birds* 484-85; Cratinus F259 K).

⁸ Boardman, no. 877 (Paris BN N3621); no. 831 (Berlin F180, from Attica). As Boardman observes *ad loc.*, "the tail is not dressed in the usual Persian manner".

⁹ Boardman, no. 881 (Rome, from Bolsena). Åkerström, *Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens*, p. 186, gives a list of Greco-Persian battles on vases, where the Greek wins. As Furtwängler, III, p. 122, observed, there is never a battle between Persians in the Greco-Persian gems.

¹⁰ Boardman, no. 905 = Furtwängler, pl. 11.2 (London WA 120325); Boardman, no. 885 = Furtwängler, pl. 12.14 (Paris BN 1095).

¹¹ Boardman, no. 532 = Furtwängler, pl. 13.5 (Leningrad, found in Kertsch). Note, however, that the shape and material could put this seal in the Greco-Persian group.

breasts and buttocks than is common in Greek art proper. Even explicitly sexual scenes occur as well as a more sober picture of a seated male, who is being served by a standing female with jar, cup, and dipper (the inscription here is a much later Kufic addition, Plate IV.a).¹²

Always these gems lack the vigor and sharp depictions of contemporary Greek seals, such as the famous bearded man signed by Dexamenos. Another stylistic singularity is well described as "the betrayal or exploitation of technique". Whereas Greek seal-cutters disguised the necessary drilling or incisions (cf. Plate IV.b), the carvers of the Greco-Persian gems often did not, as can be seen clearly on the scene of the lion and bull in Plate IV.c.¹³ This characteristic we shall find again in some of the coinage of Asia Minor.

The provenance of these seals is not often very clear, for they have normally entered museums through the avenues of trade. No seals of this type (as against sealings) have been found in Persia, few in Mesopotamia, but a small number, oddly enough, in India. In Asia Minor they have turned up especially in Sardis; others have been found in south Russia in further testimony of the ties of the north and south coasts of the Black Sea. What is more surprising is their appearance at a number of places in Greece, especially in Sparta and the Peloponnesus generally; others come from Italy, including one uncovered in an Etruscan tomb at Bolsena (Plate II.d). Imitations in blue-glass decahedrons have been reported from Iberia at the east end of the Black Sea.¹⁴

The common assumption that Greco-Persian seals mostly originated in Asia Minor seems reasonable in view of parallels in the coinage and reliefs of the peninsula; insofar as the seals bear letters, these are Lydian or Aramaic. There may well have been several schools or workshops in different localities. One student hypothesizes two centers, in Caria/Lycia and in Phrygia Minor/Lydia; the most recent

¹² Boardman, no. 880 (Oxford). Other examples are his nos. 854, 879, 903; sexual scenes are nos. 862, 906, fig. 298.

¹³ Boardman, p. 324.

¹⁴ M. N. Lordkipanidze, "Iberian Copies of Asia Minor Gems of Late Achaemenid Time", *Vestnik Obdel Obschch Nauk Gruz*, no. 6 (1964), pp. 135-54 (which I have not seen). On provenances cf. Boardman, pp. 306, 352, and his detailed lists.

survey, by Boardman, distinguishes a Court Style as located in Sardis proper. Probably most of the seals were cut in the first half of the fourth century, though they may range back into the late sixth century.¹⁵

The most evident information provided by the Greco-Persian seals lies in the subjects themselves. Insofar as the patrons selected the scenes, they looked only to Achaemenid and Greek prototypes. There seems to be no influence from Syrian scarabs, which were largely in a Phoenician style; nor does the earlier artistic tradition of Asia Minor, conservative as it had been, appear to have offered any subjects.

Boardman's Court Style is very clearly indebted to Achaemenid originals, yet its products are quite different from royal seals. The clay *bullae* found at Dascylium, in Asia Minor itself, show seals in the name of Xerxes. One design of these purely Iranian products is the very common Persian motif of a hero of Mesopotamian character, fighting a horned and winged griffin (Plate I.b); other *bullae* have two man-bulls below a winged sundisk.¹⁶ Such imaginary creatures appear only in one group of the Greco-Persian seals; and the Achaemenid-type designs of this class commonly betray an awareness of Greek styles. Another group isolated by Boardman, which he terms the Greek Style, even has figures such as Hermes and Heracles, along with Persians defeating Greeks. Direct imitation of Greek models cannot often be demonstrated, perhaps as a consequence of the haphazard

¹⁵ So Nikulina, p. 120, dates them; Boardman, pp. 326-35, suggests that the seals might not come down into the mid-fourth century. J. Zahle, *Acta Archaeologica*, XLIII (972), pp. 82-101, draws comparisons with fifth-century Lycian coinage and appears to suggest that the Greco-Persian gems were not likely to have been made in Lycia.

Although the groups established by Boardman may well be revised by others, they are a very helpful beginning at drawing distinctions in the corpus of material. It may parenthetically be noted that one of Xenophon's guides asked as reward especially for rings (seals), "and of these he got several from the soldiers". (*Anabasis* 4.7.27).

¹⁶ Balkan, *Anatolia*, IV (1959), pp. 123-28. For parallels see Edith Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, I (Washington, 1948), pp. 101-06; Briggs Buchanan, *Catalogue of Near Eastern Seals*, I (Oxford, 1966), pp. 120-24; J. C. Greenfield, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXII (1962), pp. 297-99, who cites appearance of the Achaemenid hero motif in Egypt; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, pp. 4-49, plates 3-19; J. Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire", *Iran*, VIII (1970), pp. 19-45, who catalogues perhaps Lydian examples; Bivar, *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, pp. 46-54.

survivals of ancient gems; but one seal from Asia Minor was a deliberate copy of a much earlier coin of Delphi.¹⁷

No one seems ever to have seriously raised the question as to who the patrons commissioning these works might be. To judge from the types of subjects depicted, one must search for men of wealth who were much interested in the hunt and proud of victories in war. These men were to a considerable degree oriented toward Iran, yet they were receptive of Greek themes; we might even infer that they were emancipated from the strict protocols of Achaemenid Persia in their delight in nude female figures and even scenes of intercourse. All in all, the most likely sources of this patronage are local officials—not Persian satraps proper—and above all the rural squirearchy of Asia Minor. Since this group extended widely over the interior, the variety of subjects and “schools” becomes the more explicable,¹⁸ but the general picture of a noble rural life is one which we shall find reinforced from the evidence of sculptured reliefs.

Debate, on the other hand, as to the source of the artists themselves has been more active. An art historian may dismiss the varied arguments since the days of Furtwängler as “comparatively unimportant”; in the present connection, however, they are of the utmost significance.¹⁹ It will be worthwhile to set down the major lines of interpretation of the Greco-Persian seals, for in them can be found the full range of assessments of the general cultural relations of Greeks and Persians.

The Russian scholar Maximowa, the first after Furtwängler to give thoughtful attention to this group of material, emphasized the rigidity

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the American Numismatic Society* (1971), p. 10.

¹⁸ On one cylinder (Boardman, no. 843) the name Artimas, apparently Iranian, appears in Aramaic; and Boardman adduces Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.8.25, who cites an official at Sardis by this name; see A. D. H. Bivar, “A ‘Satrap’ of Cyrus the Younger”, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7. ser. I (1961), pp. 119-27. More generally L. Zgusta, “Iranian Names in Lydian Inscriptions”, *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia* (Prague, 1957), pp. 397-400; and the discussion by Rüdiger Schmitt, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprach-Forschung*, LXXXVI (1972), pp. 87-89, under “Irtima”. Boardman, no. 834, has affronted sphinxes with tiara heads and the Lydian name Manes. As Boardman suggests (p. 323), the shape of the Greco-Persian seals may indicate that they were less used on clay tablets than on other forms of written material. On the avoidance of nudity in Achaemenid art itself cf. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, p. 14, who cites Dio Chrysostom 13.24.

¹⁹ Boardman, p. 303.

of the horses and queried whether Greek artists would have been content to repeat so often the theme in a style unlike that of contemporary Greek work; her conclusion was that they were all simply Persian in origin. After the Second World War Gisela Richter returned to Furtwängler's point of view, visualizing the seal-cutters as "adaptable Greeks". Intriguingly enough, in the same volume with Richter's essay, Seyrig essentially accepted Maximowa's solution. Another scholar who approached the subject from an Iranian point of view, Ghirshman, admitted the difference in themes from those common in Achaemenid work proper, but felt in the details of execution there was evidence for "the work of Persian craftsmen drawing inspiration from the Greeks".²⁰

To broaden the ground of debate yet further Natalia Nikulina suggests that in reality these gems are neither Greek nor Persian, but Anatolian; "their affinities are to the art of the peoples inhabiting Asia Minor, who while formally under Achaemenian rule, were exposed to the influence of both Persian and Greek art". With this view the latest student, Boardman, essentially agrees at least for part of the group.²¹

These views neatly illustrate the serious conflicts which the historian faces in assessing the arts of Asia Minor during the Persian period. That Hellenic bias which we have met so often in our investigation is apparent here too; but in more general terms, as a recent essay suggests, "One man's Greek is another's Persian".²²

Fundamentally the Greco-Persian seals are not simply Greek. Various differences in content and also in form have already been set out, but by way of further illustration the flying gallop of the horses deserves comment. As Muybridge demonstrated in action photographs during the last century, neither Greek artists nor Anatolian seal-cutters caught the real motion of a galloping horse; but the solutions of the two schools were quite different.²³

²⁰ Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, p. 270.

²¹ Nikulina, p. 120; Boardman, pp. 312-13.

²² Ann Farkas, *Persica*, IV (1969), p. 68.

²³ On Muybridge's photographs see recently Kevin MacDonnell, *Eadweard Muybridge* (London, 1973); on the flying gallop generally, G. Rodenwaldt, *Sitzungsberichte der Berlin Akademie*, 1933, p. 1039.

In Greek art horses had been very popular since the days of Geometric vases, especially at Argos, and early bronze figurines. Often they were depicted in statuesque repose, as on the Prinias frieze and its distant parallels in the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia; but even when Greek horses rear or move in classic art their four legs are never outstretched in the manner of the Greco-Persian seals.²⁴

To find the source of this latter pose, which is common on seals, coins, and other work of Asia Minor, we must look elsewhere; and the roots may easily be discovered in the Near East, from which the pose spread as far as the Scythian steppes. In a thoughtful essay Ann Farkas has discussed these prototypes and also seeks to show that both legs of the horseman were not normally depicted in the earlier Near Eastern models; she then tries to demonstrate that this variation was created by East Greek artists and accepted thereafter in the world of the seal-cutters.²⁵ If this argument were true, it would illustrate a delicate interplay between Greek and Iranian styles; but even when it is judged as non-proven on evidence currently available the equine world of the Greco-Persian seals is certainly not Greek, nor again fully Persian in many details.²⁶

The so-called Greco-Persian seals, in sum, are badly misnamed. If we could expunge the concept that they were all made by Greek craftsmen for Persian overlords, we should be in a far better position to appreciate what was generally happening in Anatolia during the Persian period. For actually these tiny pieces are magnificent revelation of the results when artists primarily of Anatolian origin were influenced

²⁴ Sidney D. Markman, *The Horse in Greek Art* (Baltimore, 1943), not altogether satisfactory; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London, 1972), pp. 179-89, discusses horses on Attic vases but notes (pp. 214-15) a marked decline in the fifth century.

²⁵ Ann Farkas, "The Horse and Rider in Achaemenid Art", *Persica*, IV (1969), pp. 57-76. There are examples of bulls and griffins with outstretched legs on Minoan seals (Boardman, figs. 48, 69, 126) and elsewhere, but these are not figures in a true flying-gallop pose.

²⁶ The design of squire on foot with his hand on the back of his horse, it may be noted, has been recognized as Iranian in its appearance on a frieze of Xanthos, a Persepolis relief, and evidence from Siberian Pazaryk (H. Metzger, *L'Antiquité classique*, XL [1971], p. 512); one could add other examples to this list such as the Ergili relief discussed below.

by *both* sides.²⁷ As may be evident in the preceding discussion I see little reason to assume that any single seal of this group came from a purely Greek hand—though that is a possibility not to be utterly dismissed, the example on Plate IV.b shows what we might expect to find from a Greek cutter.

To the Iranian tradition the designers of these seals owed particularly their choices of themes—they were, after all, presumably commissioned by local magnates—but also something of their style. From the Greeks came mainly potent stylistic models in *form*, but Hellenic themes could also be borrowed and placed beside Iranian types, as on the prism with dancing girl and bearded men from Kertsch. The results were often static and formal, if we measure them by Greek standards; when looked at from the Iranian side, they are unusually lively. The seals, in brief, display a spirit of their own, in which influences from both directions were harmonized rather than co-existing in jarring disagreement.

Their popularity is also worth noting as a sign of the successful integration. No seals of this type appeared in the Tehran collections which I was able to see,²⁸ but the sealings on clay *bullae* which have been found at Persepolis enlarge the picture significantly. In the Treasury Schmidt uncovered purely Achaemenid designs, on sealings from cylinder seals; those from stamp seals were mainly Greek in character. One cylinder sealing showed the king with three Greek hoplites and another Greek being killed (compare Plate II.d).²⁹ A closed deposit from the fortifications above the platform, recently discovered and probably dating from the later fourth century, has the latter type in abundance, the kneeling hoplite well shown in Greek style with shield, helmet, and kilt.³⁰ In the same group both the Achaemenid side (king

²⁷ Åkerström, *Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens*, pp. xiii, 220-21, in discussing the late sixth-century architectural frieze from Düver, first called it Persian and then more cautiously labelled it Anatolian.

²⁸ I am much indebted to Senator Mohsen Foroughi and to Engr. Abbas Mazda for their patience and kindness in showing me the riches of their collections. The Foroughi collection, in particular, has both Court style cylinders of purely Achaemenid type; and, from the Hellenistic period, a hoplite fighting a rampant lion—a fine illustration of the continuing influence of Near Eastern types in conjunction with Greek styles.

²⁹ Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, pp. 10, 14-15.

³⁰ This find was briefly reported in *Iran*, VIII (1970), p. 187. I am grateful to the officials of the Archaeological Survey in Tehran for permitting me to inspect it at considerable inconvenience to the personnel concerned. One may note here also the

on sphinx revering Ahura Mazda) and a purely Hellenic composition of a nude male with a dog were found. Although it is impossible to judge where the seals had been originally affixed, whether in Asia Minor or at Persepolis itself, the fortification deposit in particular suggests how Iranian and Greek could appear side by side or be interwoven as in the king/hoplite scenes.³¹

Numbers of Greco-Persian seals themselves, however, have turned up in Greece to attest that Greeks could appreciate an art form which blended eastern and western elements. In many ways the micro-cosmic world of the seals suggests far-reaching conclusions; we shall not gain a wider view from any other artistic medium.

Pottery, Metalwork, and Glass

For the ancient world seals are not often so major a source of information and basis for speculation. On the other hand we cannot gain much guidance from several types of material which normally are of great value in studying societies that lack abundant written evidence.

The conservative character of Anatolian pottery has already been stressed; as far as foreign influence played any role it seems to have come mainly from the Greek side. Finds at the Phrygian capital of Gordium, which is now in process of excavation, as well as earlier discoveries on Samos and elsewhere, show that Phrygia and the Greeks exchanged vases and metal products, but at a recent congress opinions varied sharply as to the major direction of flow.³² As evidence

interesting group found in a burial at Ur of the fifth century, as reported in *Ur Excavations*, X (Seal Cylinders, L. Legrain; British Museum, 1951).

³¹ Schmidt notes that one sealing of Greek type is on a label which also bears a purely Persian sealing. He argues that the Greek sealings were the product of Greeks in Persian service; this hypothesis is doubtful. At Susa, on the other hand, there is almost no Greek influence visible in the limited amount of Achaemenid seals found there; cf. P. Amiet, *Glyptique susienne, des origines à l'époque des Perses Achéménides* (Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran, XLIII; Paris, 1972), nos. 2202-42.

³² See the debate by E. Akurgal, R. Young, and P. Amandry in *Le Rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*, pp. 467-504; M. J. Mellink, "Mita, Mushki and Phrygians", *Anadolu araştırmaları*, II (1963), pp. 317-35. O. W. Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion* (London, 1967), finds Greek influence in the decorative designs of the pottery but considers the shapes Near Eastern, and concludes that the main contacts of Phrygia were with the Near East.

accumulates, it seems to suggest that Greek ware was making its way into western Phrygia (Dorylaeum, Gordium) especially after the irruption of the Cimmerian nomads. Other Greek material appears in Pisidia, between Burdur and Denizli, probably coming up the valley of the Maeander; Celaenae in this district had a Greek name already by 480. Further early routes ran southward from Amisus on the Black Sea along the Halys river to Boghazköy and Alisar Huyuk, and perhaps northward from Cilicia into the southeastern parts of the plateau.³³

Native reactions can be detected in architectural terracottas of Düver, Pazarli, and Akalan, mostly after the Persian conquest, and also in interesting figures of Cybele.³⁴ As far as pottery itself is concerned, however, only limited reflections of Greek styles seem to be visible despite the usually attractive power of the Orientalizing and classic achievements of the Hellenic potters. Perhaps these polished styles were too alien to the inherited characteristics of Anatolian arts; but it may be suspected that local landlords, the main source of demand for expensive work, preferred to acquire tableware of non-ceramic composition. An alabaster bowl, thus, now in the British Museum but found in Asia Minor, is inscribed with the name of Xerxes; but this item, which can be paralleled in the Persepolis minor finds, was probably a royal gift to a Carian ruler.³⁵ Glass also was a developed product in Iran. One piece was found by Hogarth in the fill of the new temple of Artemis at Ephesus; the glass seals of Iberia have already been noted; and it seems possible that Achaemenid glass made its way more fully into the peninsula than has yet been fully identified.³⁶

³³ Metzger, *Revue archéologique*, 1967.2, pp. 349-54.

³⁴ Åkerström, *Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens*, pp. 121 ff., 183 ff., 218 ff.; cf. the summary of a paper by W. Willson Commer in *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXVII (1973), p. 211.

K. Bittel, *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites* (New York, 1970), p. 150, asserts Greek influence on the statue of Cybele found there; E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 97-98, considers examples of this type from the mid-seventh century onwards as derived from Greek models. Further investigations, one may suspect, might change views.

³⁵ BM 132114.

³⁶ Andrew Oliver, Jr., "Persian Export Glass", *Journal of Glass Studies*, XII (1970), pp. 9-16. Abbas Mazda, who has long been interested in Iranian glass, was kind enough to discuss with me his knowledge of this difficult subject (cf. F. R. Matson in Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, pp. 127-32).

Local men of wealth and power were also likely to seek metal objects, either of gold and silver or of bronze and iron. In this field the native craftsmen of Urartu had long been competent; where outside influences show themselves they seem to be almost entirely derived from the Iranian side. Achaemenid smiths, after all, inherited and further refined great skills in metalworking which were scarcely surpassed, technically at least, in any Greek products; the gold objects of Iranian origin in European and Persian collections are often spectacularly successful in their decorative, stylized achievements.

Metalware of Anatolian origin is still very scanty for the Persian period. There has been an effort to detect some influence of Iranian work even on goldsmiths of Ionia; but several silver items in the Stathatos collection, reportedly from Sinope, are considered to reflect mainly indigenous traditions. Farther east on the Black Sea coast lay Colchis, where Russian excavators have recently made interesting discoveries. Greek bronze and ceramic material appears here across the fifth century, but Greek impulses had their effect more especially in the fourth century. A gold diadem of local manufacture, however, reflects mainly Achaemenid style, "even though it does not in every respect conform to the canonical standards of the latter".³⁷ The phrase sums up the situation which recurs repeatedly in every form of art along the Greco-Persian artistic frontier.

A motif which appears on bracelets and vases is that of standing

³⁷ Otar Lordkipanidze, "La civilisation de l'ancienne Colchide aux V^e-IV^e siècles (à la lumière des plus récentes découvertes archéologiques)", *Revue archéologique*, 1971, pp. 259-88.

One must wish for a sequel to K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewelry, c. 3000-612 B.C.* (London, 1971), which distinguishes Anatolian and Mesopotamian work in its period. For the time being see P. Amandry in *Le Rayonnement*, pp. 581-87, "Vaiselle d'argent de l'époque achéménide", *Archaiologike ephemeris*, 1953-4, ii, pp. 11-19, "Orfèverie Achéménide", *Antike Kunst*, I (1958), pp. 9-23, and "Toreutique Achéménide", *Antike Kunst*, II (1959), pp. 38-56; Helene Kantor, "Achaemenid Jewelry in the Oriental Institute", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XVI (1957), pp. 1-23; and the paper by Andrew Oliver, Jr., presented at the 1973 meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America (*American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXVIII [1974], p. 173), on the mixture of styles in 6th-century western Asia Minor work. For non-precious metals cf. the "Anatolian Greek" belt buckle published by R. D. Barnett, *British Museum Quarterly*, XXVII (1963-64), plate 31g, and J. Boardman, *Anatolian Studies*, XVI (1966), pp. 193-94; J. M. Cook, *Archaeological Reports for 1970-71*, p. 60.

wild goats (ibexes) or other animals; the former, in particular, were a favorite subject for drinking vessels (rhyta) in Achaemenid times, perhaps because their magnificent curving horns lent themselves to artistic stylization. The design itself goes back to prehistoric times, when the potters of Susa decorated some of the most remarkable painted vases ever created in the Near East with stylized ibexes; in the Luristan bronzes it is the most common animal, and here retains its reality rather than dissolving into a creature of fantasy.³⁸ The design was not unknown in the Aegean world as well. A sacrificial vase recently found in the Minoan palace of Zakro shows a mountain sanctuary on top of which are couchant ibexes, with one rampant animal on the left side; among the Babylonian seals discovered in the Mycenaean palace at Thebes is a fine example with great sweeping horns. In historic Greek art, however, the potentialities of this design seem to have been little exploited.³⁹

The British Museum and the Louvre, however, own superb examples of rampant bronze ibexes, each of which rests on a mask of the Egyptian deity Bes (Plate V). These items are dated to the first half of the fourth century, and are normally considered to show at the least very strong Greek influence. Is there any justification for this view apart from the fact that they are magnificently conceived and executed? As Amandry has pointed out, the tribute bearers from Armenia (or perhaps Cappadocia) on the reliefs of Persepolis carry vases like a surviving example from Pontus, and the ibex handles appear to have come from this area. At this point in our knowledge it can only be suggested that the ibexes, no less than the seals, may have been the work of artists who drew on Iranian material for their motifs; bronze coins apparently from southwest Asia Minor in the fourth century couple the ibex with an archer.⁴⁰

³⁸ P. R. S. Moorey, *Catalogue of the Ancient Persian Bronzes in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 303-04. This work, like his publication of the Adam bronzes (London, 1973), deals with pre-Achaemenid material.

³⁹ N. Platon, *Zakros* (New York, 1971), pp. 164-69; Thebes Museum seal no. 199 (*Illustrated London News*, Nov. 28, 1964, p. 861, fig. 10); Archaeological Museum Athens no. 6688 is an example with very reduced horns.

⁴⁰ A. D. H. Bivar and E. S. G. Robinson, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7. ser. I (1961), pp. 124-25, 127.

From the scattered material currently available in the fields of pottery, glass, and metalwork it would be unsafe to generalize dogmatically. Even so, the reluctance of native potters to take over Hellenic ceramic styles stands in sharp contrast to the willingness of metal workers to adapt Achaemenid motifs in their field. Further study may clarify the influences of Iranian metal techniques and designs in Asia Minor; at this time there is certainly little evidence for any onrush of Hellenism.

Sculpture and Painting

A great deal could be said about architecture in Asia Minor during the fourth century, but only for the Hellenic centers, whose prosperity has already been noted. Continuing excavations at Sardis and Gordium may still throw light on native architectural developments but have not done so to this point; the evidence from the brief exploration at Dascylium is of limited value. In sculpture, however, significant and varied testimony is available, particularly if we draw into account evidence from Sidon. For the interior of Asia Minor, unfortunately, the major discovery thus far is solely the painted tombs of Elmali.

In our survey we may most conveniently begin with work which was certainly the product of Greek artists but was made for native rulers or potentates, and then move on to examples which are less and less Hellenic. Thus the famous Mausoleum at Halicarnassus is purely Greek, designed by the architect Pythius and decorated by a host of famous sculptors; only its form has Anatolian antecedents.⁴¹ Especially along the coast, in other words, magnates could and did draw directly on Hellenic arts.

Farther along the scale are a famous collection of sarcophagi from Sidon, especially that called the sarcophagus of the Satrap (actually a Sidonian king), and also the tombs of Xanthus and other Lycian sites. Some of the latter have long been known through their removal

⁴¹ E. Buschor, *Maussolos und Alexander* (Munich, 1950), who treats its sculpture as presaging Hellenistic styles; F. Krischen, *Weltwunder der Baukunst in Babylonien und Ionien* (Tübingen, 1956), pp. 72 ff., who considers its architecture as "eine Übersetzung des persischen Königsgrabes in klassisches Griechisch"; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1957), pp. 195-96; Riemann s.v. Maussolleion in PW.

to the British Museum in the last century; further examples have recently been explored in situ by the French archeological mission at Xanthus.⁴² The Lion grave may be placed about 540, the Harpy tomb at 480/70, the Nereid temple-tomb about 400, and the Payava sarcophagus in the fourth century itself; the Satrap sarcophagus of Sidon can be dated about 430.

In their architectural aspects all these works exhibit Greek details. The reliefs of the Satrap sarcophagus (Plates VI and VII) are framed with egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel; the cover of the Alexander sarcophagus from the same cemetery is carved in the form of a tile roof with antefixes in Hellenic fashion. The capitals and columns of the Lycian tombs also are Greek in style, especially from about 470-50 onwards.⁴³ On the other hand these mementoes of native magnates, Sidonian or Lycian, are far more ostentatious than was common in the citizen communities of Greece, and their designers looked to another world for over-all composition. The funerary pillars of Xanthus are purely local in origin; the free-standing tombs suggest affinities to the tomb of Cyrus and other built tombs of Near Eastern pattern; rock-cut examples must remind one more of the tombs of Naqsh-i-Rustam than of anything in Greece.

Sculpturally these works also blend Greek and non-Hellenic. In style they are essentially Greek; indeed, dating depends largely on their reflection of artistic developments in Greek lands. So too their composition is as a rule animated. Too often, however, analysis has halted at this point; for when we turn to meditate on the content of the reliefs the spirit changes abruptly. There are, true, decorative

⁴² Gerhard Rodenwaldt, "Griechische Reliefs in Lykien", *Sitzungsberichte der Berlin Akademie*, 1933, pp. 1028-53, led the way in consideration of this material. See most recently Jürgen Borchhardt, "Epichorische, gräko-persisch beeinflusste Reliefs in Kilikien", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, XVIII (1968), pp. 161-211; Ilse Kleeman, *Der Satrapen-Sarkophag aus Sidon* (*Istanbuler Forschungen* XX; Berlin, 1958); Pierre Coupel and Pierre Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, III (Paris, 1969), on the Nereid tomb; Pierre Demargne, I (Paris, 1958), on Lion and Harpy tombs; H. Metzger, II (Paris, 1963), on tomb G (pp. 49-61); F. J. Tritsch, "The Harpy Tomb at Xanthus", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXII (1942), pp. 39-50. Note also the bearded sphinx from Labraynda illustrated by von der Osten, *Der Welt der Perser*, pl. 67. The heroon of Gölbaşı-Trysa has recently been downdated to c. 370 (*American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXVII [1973], p. 210, summary of paper by W. A. P. Childs).

⁴³ *Fouilles de Xanthos*, III, p. 157.

elements such as Greek sphinxes and furniture; the Harpy tomb has a scene of Greek goddesses; the Nereid tomb, as its name suggests, draws from Greek mythology. Yet the themes in major degree reflect a world of courts which imitated, if distantly, the royal tradition of Achaemenid art. Common scenes are formal banquets, hunting on horseback, battles, and court receptions with bodyguards in attendance—the world of the Greco-Persian seals.

On the Satrap sarcophagus, to describe only one example, the ruler lies at dinner in a scene which is Greek in composition; the couch and the subsidiary figures are equally Greek in style. The king himself, however, has a long beard and diadem and emanates from a non-Hellenic world. On one long side he hunts a panther (Plate VI); the horses seem akin to those of the Parthenon, as does the composition, but the horsemen themselves are attired in an Iranian fashion with cap or diadem. In a further scene (Plate VII) the seated ruler is Near Eastern as far as his head is concerned, somewhat Hellenic in body; his attendants are Greek in form, but the presence of *two* servants is Near Eastern. A recent publication of this work correctly observes that the relief conveys a more mobile, active spirit than do the staircases of Persepolis; yet in contrast to a Greek vase there is an innate emphasis on the formal dignity and “representation” of the ruler.⁴⁴

The increasingly abundant material from Lycia shows the same intriguing blend of Hellenic style and Iranian subjects. The Harpy tomb is almost entirely Greek at first glance, but there is strong Achaemenid influence, as in the seated figure of the dynast in audience. On the Nereid tomb the ceremonial depicted and its representational character quietly reflect a Near Eastern relation though composition and attire are Hellenic. The Payava sarcophagus of the next century, also in the British Museum, was ordered by Autophradates, satrap of Sardis, for one of his Lycian military commanders. The intricate shape is not Hellenic; Payava is shown in several scenes, now attacking three Greek hoplites, now hunting on horseback, with the horse in flying gallop. On one side of the base is Autophradates himself, wearing a tiara, his right hand touching his beard as on Persepolis reliefs.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Kleeman, *Der Satrapen-Sarkophag*, p. 115.

⁴⁵ Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 391-92.

Those scholars who have considered the content of this outwardly Hellenized sculpture seem to be moving slowly toward a feeling that Persian influence must be taken more seriously into account even for reliefs which "have up to now been considered purely Hellenic in inspiration as in their style".⁴⁶ It is not so often observed that perhaps the Iranian influence *grew* in fourth-century Lycia, but the possibility may be kept in mind for further exploration when we come to the coinage of Asia Minor.

Several students have drawn up in recent years lists of the depictions of processions, banquets, and hunts.⁴⁷ The works in question range from Sidon to Thrace, but we need not consider all the reliefs cited in these inventories. The specific examples which have been noted in preceding paragraphs are among the best of this work, artistically speaking, and they may surely be taken as the product of Greek artists working for Iranian-oriented lords—or in the case of Lycia very probably often of local craftsmen who were fully aware of Hellenic sculptured styles and able to employ them almost automatically. These works, more than any others we shall consider, properly deserve the title Greco-Persian. An example such as the Satrap sarcophagus magnificently illustrates the elegant interweaving of two cultural worlds as achieved by a Greek-oriented artist.

The word "painting" appears in the title of this section by reason of recent discoveries near Elmali, an area which had earlier yielded a hoard of fourth-century silver.⁴⁸ Apart from the painted sarcophagi of Clazomenae, which are essentially Greek, the tombs of Elmali present our first significant example of painting from Asia Minor. Painting

⁴⁶ Metzger, *Revue archéologique*, 1967.2, p. 360; cf. P. Bernard, "Une pièce d'armure perse sur un monument lycien", *Syria*, XLI (1964), pp. 95-212.

⁴⁷ H. Metzger, "Sur deux groupes de reliefs 'gréco-perses' d'Asie Mineure", *L'Antiquité classique*, XL (1971), pp. 505-25, lists processions and banquets. He considers some processions as parades and judges the banquets are festive, rather than funerary; this seems to leave out of account the Aramaean steles with scenes of feasting as well as the Etruscan tomb paintings. J. M. Dentzer, "Reliefs au 'banquet' dans l'Asie Mineure du V^e siècle av. J.-C.", *Revue archéologique*, 1969.2, pp. 195-224, also stresses an Aramaean connection.

⁴⁸ Preliminary reports by M. J. Mellink, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXV (1971), pp. 246-55 and LXXVII (1973), pp. 297-303; full illustration is yet to come after restoration.

must always have been more common than sculpture in the ancient world, but survives less well save in special circumstances, such as at Tarquinia, Pompeii, or the deserts of Syria and Egypt.

The first tomb, at Kizilbel, is dated by its excavator to about 525, and Mellink considers it the work of East Greek artists both in costumes and facial characteristics and in the presence of such subjects as gorgons and the birth of Pegasus and Chrysaor; however, there is also a winged demon with the stem "of a sturdy oriental lotus". Below this latter figure is a warrior's departure by chariot and a banquet; the upper frieze may contain a depiction of a sacrifice. Other walls, though poorly preserved, have a seated dignitary with suppliant, servants, and body-guard; perhaps wrestlers; a procession of horsemen; and hunting scenes.

The second tomb, Karaburun II, comes from the early fifth century. On the main wall, over the funeral bench, the owner appears in a drinking scene which in composition reminds one of parallel paintings on Etruscan tombs at Tarquinia. Another scene shows him on horseback in battle against Greeks; a second warrior is killing an archer. Recently the funeral depiction has been cleaned and reveals the bearded owner seated upright on a throne-chariot, adapted from an Assyrian prototype. He is dressed in purple robe in Iranian fashion and is followed by servitors on foot in Iranian dress. Behind them is another cart with a domed red box, which does not appear to be a sarcophagus; Mellink suggests it may contain funeral offerings.

These paintings all fit into that official and representational scheme which we have already discussed. The Anatolian-Persian character, as Mellink labels it, is also evident in the metal vessels, fan bearer, and mixture of Greeks and Persians in the battle. One can only hope that the delicate task of restoring these frescoes proceeds successfully, and that further discoveries of similar material may occur; for the evidence of Elmali takes us up out of the coastal districts of Asia Minor, where Lycian dynasts could draw with ease on Greek sources, some distance into the interior world of the rural magnates of Asia Minor. In passing it may be noted that a tomb stele of a victorious horseman, of the early fourth century, has also been found in this district at Yalnizdam.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Mellink, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXVI (1972), p. 179; LXXVII (1973), p. 303.

Sculptured fragments especially from the region around Dascylium in the northwest corner of the peninsula remain to be considered, for they move us farther away from Hellenic art and into a fascinating but puzzling world. One stele which shows in the upper register a hunt and in the lower register a banquet was discovered at Çavuşköy (Plate X); reliefs depicting a sacrifice and a procession of women on horseback turned up at Ergili (Dascylium) seventy years ago (Plates XI and XII).⁵⁰ These are commonly dated about 400.

Then a happy accident revealed in the 1960's a much later tomb constructed out of reused steles.⁵¹ One, which is crowned by a palmette acroterion acanthus, had a procession of a man with a horse, a horseman, and two footmen, now broken; and below this a band with a funeral cart bearing a sarcophagus and attendants. On this stele (no. 5764) was incised an Aramaic inscription identifying Elnaf (or perhaps in Persian the name Arnapes).⁵² The second stele (no. 5762) also had a funeral cart, and below apparently unfinished reliefs of a banquet and a scene of deer (a hunt?); on the sides of this stele are a laden mule, and man, woman, and baby on two mules. The third, best preserved (no. 5763, Plate IX), has in the top register a funeral cart, bearing a box like that on the Elmali frieze, with attendants and below a banquet of presumably a husband and his seated wife with tiara. The man has his arms crossed and holds an egg and a cup; his wife has a little cup of flowers; attendants fill the man's cup and offer other food.⁵³ This scene may help us to understand the more sketchily presented design of the seal on Plate IV.a. A fragment of

⁵⁰ Çavuşköy: Gustave Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, III (Constantinople, 1914), no. 1054; Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, p. 172, fig. 119. Ergili: Mendel, III, nos. 1355, 1357.

⁵¹ Initial report by Necati Dolunay, "Reliefs Discovered at Dascyleion (Ergili)", *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müze Yıllığı*, XIII-XIV (1966), pp. 97-111. See most recently Hans Möbius, "Zu den Stelen von Daskyleion", *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1971, cols. 442-55.

⁵² As translated by A. Dupont-Sommers, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müze Yıllığı*, XIII-XIV (1966), pp. 112-17. Elnaf gave thanks for a successful caravan trip; but Frank Cross furnished a more proper funerary translation in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 184 (1966), pp. 7-10; J. Teixidor, *Syria*, XLV (1968), p. 376, suggests the equation with Arnapes.

⁵³ Dolunay, pp. 110-11, took the banquet as festive rather than funerary (resting on the erroneous translation of the Aramaic); but Etruscan parallels, including the egg, must certainly be remembered.

a very similar stele was found in excavations at Ergili in 1953; smaller bits include part of two horses with male riders in trousers from Ergili. A scene now lost from Yeniceköy depicted a group of Persian horsemen defeating enemies.⁵⁴

When an observer stands in room XI of the Archeological Museum at Istanbul (which is currently labelled "Archaic Greek Art") and views the reliefs just listed, he can perhaps best sense visually the thrust of the argument in the present essay. For here we are in a world akin to that of the Greco-Persian seals. There are only eight relevant pieces in the room, but they stand apart from the sphinxes, kouroi, Heracles, and other truly Greek works which are displayed alongside, both in style and still more in subject. In short, they emanate from a different, though related, cultural world.

This world, like that the seals, is not easy for us to plumb, and it will not do to dismiss these steles as "provincial". That, indeed, is one reason why I have drawn attention to this unpolished work, for one often learns more about an age from the second-rate than from the achievements of unique masters. Technical skill here may be lacking, if one compares the Ergili steles to the fragments surviving from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, but other aspects are more important.

The spirit is static, composed; yet the subjects are drawn from life and convey a meaning as much as does the Greek work in the same room. In publishing the steles recently discovered, Dolunay perhaps unconsciously struck the proper note in describing the two attendants of the funeral cart on the Elnaf stele: "The men are advancing with slow steps conforming with the advance of the cart, as silently as in a religious ceremony".⁵⁵ The mood is far removed from a Hellenic scene.

As Dolunay moreover correctly points out, grave steles occur also in Greece, but neither the palmettes nor the appearance of several bands of relief in the new examples can be paralleled in Greece. Various details of costumes, the form of the cart wheels, and the selection of scenes are connected with an Iranian world; even so, real parallels especially to the steles are not to be found in the East.

⁵⁴ See Dolunay, Ill. 2; Mendel, III, no. 1356.

⁵⁵ Dolunay, p. 103.

We must rather draw into account scattered pieces from Asia Minor itself, such as a fifth-century relief found at Ödemis in the Cayster valley (now in Smyrna) of a banquet in which the man crosses his arms, and a lower register with wild beasts and goat.⁵⁶ This relief is illustrated on Plate VIII.b, together with the famous scene of Darius in audience found at Persepolis in the Treasury—not with the objective of contrasting sublime and ridiculous but for two more serious reasons. First, comparison of the two suggests the great spiritual distance between the center of Achaemenid art and a far removed corner of the empire; but secondly the themes of the Ödemis relief are still Iranian, not Greek.

The two Dascylium reliefs which show a procession of Persian women on horseback and a sacrifice of ram and bull before an altar are far more refined in execution; proportions also are more harmonious. As a scene the sacrifice by two priests in Persian attire and gesture, one holding a barsom bundle of sacred twigs, is very different from sacrificial depictions in Greek art; but it has been commented that such a work would not have been made at Persepolis, both for stylistic reasons and also for its immediacy of expression.⁵⁷ Another student, however, has drawn a parallel between the deliberate pace of the Persian women and the calm advance of figures on the Persepolis staircases.⁵⁸

It is most unfortunate that the brief excavations at Dascylium in the 1950's turned up no further sculpture to enlarge our views, for the material which has been itemized is perilously limited. Even so these reliefs are enough to show that we cannot interpret sculptural developments on the border between Iranian and Greek art, especially in the fourth century (from which the Dascylium material seems to date) solely in the light of the more strongly Hellenized work of Lycia and Sidon. Here more than anywhere else in the sculptural

⁵⁶ Illustrated by Dolunay, Ill. 7; discussed by Dentzer, *Revue archéologique*, 1969.2, pp. 196-200.

⁵⁷ Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 386, who finds Greek influence in the molded window frames, eyes in profile, irregular drapery folds (but on this aspect see above, p. 56), and converging lines of the pen. Cf. the scenes of sacrifice on Persepolis sealings in Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁸ von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser*, p. 99.

remains we can detect the rise of natives to the practice of the more advanced arts; the sources of their impetus came from both the urbane cultures on which they could draw. Just as the seals emanated from many workshops and vary both in style and in subject, so too the sculptors of the fourth century were working toward solutions of their artistic problems which were not uniform and were not all equally Greek-oriented.

The Coinage of Asia Minor

Wherever ancient states struck coinage, the survivals of their issues are more extensive and usually more varied than any other form of evidence save that of pottery. In fourth-century Asia Minor the volume of coinage, and the number of mints, increased markedly, a development which has already been noted; from this coinage very useful large hoards have turned up in recent decades.

Some types are artistically so distinguished that they are avidly sought by modern collectors, such as the facing head of Apollo and swan struck by Clazomenae. Over-all, the bulk of the coinage is more pedestrian but is in a Greek style, emanating from city mints. These issues need not concern us here, except insofar as they suggest that the commercial activity of Asia Minor was expressed largely in its more developed forms in Hellenic terms; but there are other coins—sometimes in numbers—which are very relevant to our purposes. To establish solid conclusions, however, we must cast a glance over a great variety of issues and describe significant examples in some detail.

Coinage which may be said to reflect the native background itself is not very easy to find except in southern and southwestern Asia Minor. The coinage of Cilicia will concern us a little later; but one may cite here the issues of Lycian dynasts from the fifth century onwards.⁵⁹ Earlier examples are rather rough depictions often of a winged boar with a reverse which is simply incuse or designed with a *triskeles*; the dynasts' native names are given in Lycian script (Täthiväibi,

⁵⁹ The most detailed study to date is O. Mørkholm and J. Zahle, "The Coinage of Kuprlli", *Acta Archaeologica*, XLIII (1972), pp. 57-113, which makes limited comparisons to Greco-Persian gems. See also W. Schwabacher, *Essays presented to E. S. G. Robinson* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 111-24.

Uvug ..., Kuprrlis, etc.). The winged boar is essentially a Greek design, as is the lion scalp borrowed from Samian types; but an imported Achaemenid influence has been found, for example, in the coinage of Kuprrli. By the fourth century the coin-designers were capable of magnificently cut heads of rulers such as Mitrapata or of Pericles. Throughout this Lycian coinage some hints of a non-Hellenic spirit creep in even during the fourth century, as in the sculpture of the area, but it is never prominent. The coinage of the fourth-century Carian dynasts Hecatomus and Mausolus is still more lacking in any native influences.

Elsewhere, however, types drawn from Iranian backgrounds or Aramaic legends appear even on purely Greek coins. At Cius a figure who is identified as Mithras (Plate XIII.k) appears on copper coinage. Human heads clad in Persian cap turn up at Pergamum and Teuthrania, perhaps representing local rulers of the line of Demaratus; Cebren too has a similar head.⁶⁰ At Sinope the design remains the same across the fourth century, but on some issues appear in Greek the names of Datames, satrap of Cappadocia, or later of Abkamamu in Aramaic (Plate XIII.a). The latter figure cannot be certainly identified with the Abrocomas who served as a general against Egypt at the beginning of the century; but we do incidentally know that Datames had difficulties in striking coinage to pay his troops during operations in northern Asia Minor. His issues may be dated about 369-368, well before his death in 359/8 during the satraps' revolt.⁶¹

The city mints of western and southwestern Asia Minor were used on a number of occasions by satraps and field commanders to strike

⁶⁰ Cius: SNG von Aulock 7003-4, placed after 325. Pergamum: SNG von Aulock 1347; Babelon lxxxviii.4-8 (the last two are doubtfully attributed). Cebren: SNG von Aulock 1547, 7622; McClean 7808. Sigeion: SNG von Aulock 7636. Wherever E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1901-32), has clear illustrations, I cite plates by their Roman numerals; discussions, by column numbers. References will be given below to *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Sammlung von Aulock* (Berlin, 1957) and to other collections and coin auctions by their usual titles; I shall make no attempt to list all known examples of any particular issue. Numismatic literature itself, which goes back to important studies by F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1901-2), and before, will be cited only if directly relevant.

⁶¹ Abrocomas: Babelon cx.4-16; SNG von Aulock 6855; Hess/Leu 19 (1962), no. 260. Datames: Babelon cx.1-3; Aristotle, *Oec.* 2.25; Polyaenus 7.21.1; E. S. G. Robinson, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5. ser. X (1930), p. 10.

coinage which is at times historically significant but also often puzzling. Toward the end of the fifth century and very early in the next century there are issues by Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus in connection with their participation in the Peloponnesian war and subsequent hostilities with Sparta down to the battle of Cnidus in 394 (see Plate XIII.a, b, c, e, f). A unique tetradrachm of Athenian weight shows a bearded satrap on the obverse and on the reverse the stereotyped owl of the standarsized Athenian coinage, but bears the letters ΒΑΣ rather than ΑΘΕ; this example has been counterstruck in Aramaic.⁶² The coin is usually placed about 411 and assigned to Tissaphernes, as are also tetradrachms showing a satrap and lyre with ΒΑΣ, perhaps from Colophon or Iasus and struck on a lighter weight (Rhodian/Chian).

For Pharnabazus there is an issue with the tunny of Cyzicus as badge; a prow of a galley also stands on the reverse, while the obverse bears a bearded satrap who is labelled Pharnabazus in Greek. According to Xenophon Pharnabazus paid out a good deal of money while active at Cyzicus in 411-410, though numismatic experts tend to put this issue about 396. More problematical is a series running from tetradrachm down through a quarter-drachm which bears a satrap of the same general character on the obverse and on the reverse a "running king" with a galley and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ. These are agreed to emanate from a provincial mint, perhaps in Caria, but have been assigned by numismatic scholars now to Tissaphernes, now to Pharnabazus.⁶³

⁶² *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6. ser. VIII (1948), p. 48, no. 8 (found in the Karaman hoard); enlarged by W. Schwabacher, *Charites* (Bonn, 1957), Pl. IV.1. Cf. E. S. G. Robinson, *Museum Notes*, IX (1960), p. 4.

⁶³ Lyre coins: Babelon lxxxviii.25 (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 6 ser. VIII [1948], pl. V). Pharnabazus: Babelon cviii.1, clxxviii.15; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1.1.14; a doubtful hekte, J. F. Healey, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7. ser. XI (1971), p. 33; electrum stater, *Griechische Münzen* (Bank Leu, 1974), no. 209. Galley coins: Babelon lxxxviii.10; nos. 11-13 are the same type without galley (no. 13 is bronze); lxxxvii.24 (= de Luynes 2819), king/galley in gold with a Carian letter (Head in BMC Ionia, p. 325, linked it with Pharnabazus; Babelon, with Memnon).

E. S. G. Robinson, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6. ser. VIII (1948), pp. 48-56, assigned the lyre coins to Tissaphernes, anonymous galleys to Pharnabazus (and connected the latter with events of 395/4 B.C.). Schwabacher, "Satrapenbildnisse", *Charites*, pp. 27-32, preferred to give the galley issues to Tissaphernes and dated the coins with Pharnabazus' name to 397 or 396. Babelon, *Traité*, II, cols. 111-14, listed the lyre issues under "Orontes".

Firm decision is impossible, but the galley at least suggests that naval ambition which eventually produced Persian command of the Aegean and neighboring waters. In shifting from the issuance of anonymous *sigloi* with the figure of the king the two satraps must have been motivated by the destination of the new coinage; it was probably intended for Greek recipients, whether rowers or generals and politicians. Still, the satraps had no reserves about advertising their own importance or the policies of their distant masters.

With respect to these types it may be observed that in older numismatic literature any Persian wearing a tiara with upright points (*kidaris*) was likely to be labelled "king". The satraps in the issues just discussed do have the tiara, but its points are folded over (as on the issues of Tarsus to be considered shortly); that of the "running king" resembles the design of the darics and *sigloi* in having upright points—like the figure of Darius on the Alexander mosaic. It would probably be safer to reserve the name of king for figures of the latter type of tiara, but even so one must be cautious in drawing any inference that a specific example must show *the* king himself.⁶⁴

Two anonymous issues which emphasize figures of this character were struck in western Asia Minor shortly before Alexander's entry. One has on the reverse a peculiar incuse and has been assigned to Ephesus in the period of Memnon, the Rhodian general of the Persians at the time of Alexander. The other combines running king and a horseman in flying gallop and has sometimes been classed under the name of Evagoras; more probably it is Carian in origin and possibly due to Memnon also (Plate XIII.g,h).⁶⁵ Any Greek serving the king probably either lacked the right to strike coinage with his own name or was properly circumspect; there are no coins in the name of Conon.

⁶⁴ Robinson, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7. ser. I (1961), pp. 115 ff., and 6. ser. VIII (1948), p. 49. H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XXXVI (1959), p. 52, questions whether the figure really does represent the Persian ruler, as against Baal. See also Boardman, *Iran*, VIII (1970), pp. 31-32; and Guitty Azarpay, "Crowns and Some Royal Insignia in Early Iran", *Iranica Antiqua*, IX (1972), pp. 108-15, who observes that on reliefs the king often wears a mural crown.

⁶⁵ A. E. M. Johnston, "The Earliest Preserved Greek Map: A New Ionian Coin Type", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXXVII (1967), pp. 86-94; Babelon lxxxix.6-12 and xci.10; Niggeler 508. The former type sometimes bears the name Pythagores (an Ephesian magistrate?) in Ionic form.

Several satraps, however, did use western mints in the fourth century. Spithridates apparently coined at Lampsacus (Plate XIII.1);⁶⁶ and Orontas issued even gold at Lampsacus as well as silver and bronze, and struck also at Cisthenes and Clazomenae and perhaps Phocaea (electrum). His types include satrap head, Zeus, and Athena, as well as a kneeling hoplite at Clazomenae (Plate XIII.i, m), and probably were a product of his participation in the satraps' revolt.⁶⁷ In all the satrapal coinage thus far noted the Hellenic influence is paramount, always in style and usually in subjects. Only the satraps' heads, running king, flying gallop, and occasional appearance of the name of the satrap himself show that the issuing authority was non-Hellenic.

In southeastern Asia Minor (Cilicia and the coast just to the west), numismatic activities are both absorbing and complex. Whereas our most valuable evidence in the field of sculpture comes from the northwestern corner of Asia Minor, that for coinage is at the opposite edge of the peninsula; for this area served as a mustering group for some of the major Persian military activities in the fourth century.

The cities of Cilicia, though only partially Hellenized for the most part, were active in the trade of the Levant. Like nearby Cypriote and Phoenician centers they may have found coinage necessary in their commerce, but as is often the case in ancient issues military requirements may have been influential as causes for major issues from the fifth century onwards. In all three areas coin-designers felt free to draw on Near Eastern repertoires of motifs. The Egyptian *ankh* appears very frequently as a subsidiary mark; the winged sundisk is not rare. Mallus used a type of running demon which usually has some Hellenic characteristics in the body but is winged in Near Eastern fashion; on the reverse of these coins there is often a sacred baetyl.

Greek is the common language at Mallus, but Aramaic also appears: Issus too struck in both Greek and Aramaic and used Athena as well as Ahura Mazda as types. Soli employed an archer Amazon and bunch of grapes which do not always appear Greek in style; its name is

⁶⁶ Babelon lxxxix.1-5; lxxxviii.27 has been assigned to Autophradates on occasion, but Babelon was doubtful.

⁶⁷ Babelon lxxxvi.15, lxxxviii.11-24; SNG von Aulock 7395; Boston 1593; McClean 7635; Leu 7 (1973), no. 232. De Luynes 2899 is perhaps Cilician; cf. SNG Lockett 3059.

normally in Greek, but Aramaic and an *ankh* do turn up on the type.⁶⁸

The numismatic product assigned to Tarsus, the major city in Cilicia, once was extended back into the sixth century but now is generally agreed (though not on very solid grounds) to have begun not long before 400 at a time when Cilicia still had its native king or *synnesis*.⁶⁹ The issues from this mint down into the first two decades of the fourth century are truly amazing in their variety (Plate XIV).

One type, perhaps the first, displays lion and bull on the obverse; on the reverse are a great ear of wheat (sometimes with a wolf's head) and the Aramaic letters TaRS, which appears on most of the earlier coinage of the city. The figures of lion and bull went back far in Near Eastern art and had been adapted for Greek use at Acanthus and elsewhere, but the design as it appears on the Tarsus issues stands far closer to Near Eastern prototypes, like the Greco-Persian seal of Plate IV.c. Less common, and perhaps just after 400, is another pattern which also presumably reflects the fertility of the Cilician plain—a plowman in Iranian dress with zebu oxen team, and on the reverse a cow looking around at her calf; above is the winged sundisk, without Ahura Mazda.⁷⁰

Beside these peaceful types stands a great variety of more warlike issues. On one example the obverse bears a rider in tiara and Persian dress, not in a flying gallop, and the reverse a nude Greek hoplite crouching in defense; the hoplite's shield bears a gorgon. This coin is, as it were, an analysis of the pattern of Persian warrior defeating a Greek hoplite which occurs on Greco-Persian seals and on the sealings

⁶⁸ Mallus: *Ars classica* 17.588; Hess/Leu 36 (1968), no. 306. Soli: BM 7-6-2 (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 6. ser. VIII [1948], p. 56, no. 10, of c.475-50 according to Robinson). Issus: Hess/Leu 19 (1962), nos. 321, 323; SNG Berry 1273 (Baal with Greek and Aramaic/Ahura Mazda with Greek).

⁶⁹ C. M. Kraay, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7. ser. II (1962), pp. 13-15. Ruge's discussion *s.v.* Tarsos in PW gives little on our period; *Excavations at Gözlü Kule Tarsus*, ed. H. Goldman, vol. III (Princeton, 1963), catalogues the Iron Age material found in that careful exploration.

⁷⁰ Babelon cv.16-19; SNG von Aulock 5914. Kraay throws out the suggestion that the ear of wheat was used to indicate that the soldiers' pay was reckoned in terms of rations, though paid in silver; this strikes me as one of those unfortunate speculations which too often are picked up and converted into fact. Wheat and barley were common motifs in Hellenic coinage (as at Metapontum); cf. L. Lacroix, *Congrès international de numismatique*, 1961, II, pp. 94-95.

from Persepolis. Elsewhere the rider is paired with an archer or with two facing foot soldiers who hold their spears stiffly upright as on the famous tiles from Susa, the reliefs of the Persepolis staircases, or the Greco-Persian seal of Plate IV.d.⁷¹ Perhaps from Tyre the Tarsian designers borrowed the figure of a hippocamp with archers or foot soldiers; one even finds the hero-type of purely Achaemenid seals (Plate I.b), in which a king with upright tiara stabs a rampant lion.⁷² On the reverse of this last example is a standing king with spear and *ankh* in hand; on either side are TaRS in Aramaic and TERΣI in Greek. If these coins were issued for truly military purposes, their designers and presumably the recipients as well were scarcely thinking in Hellenic terms.⁷³

Nowhere outside the coinage of the Greek cities proper do we gain such remarkable illumination of religious cults as in the issues of Cilicia. Some of the cities this area depicted normal Greek deities, but Tarsus again provides amazing diversity. The main deity of the city was not a Greek god but rather Baaltars, who is probably the figure on some issues seated above battlements and revered by a human figure (Plate XIV.f).⁷⁴ Ana, a Mesopotamian divinity, turns up on the coinage of Datames (Plate XV.c). Most astonishing of all has been the recent resurrection of Nergal of Tarsus, an old Mesopotamian deity revered across North Syria and equated with Melqart at Tyre, as a result of his appearance on a coin acquired by the British Museum. The obverse has a stolid horseman, the reverse shows the deity standing with bow and staff on the back of a lion and labelled NeRGaLTaRS (Plate XIV.a). In this example the pose is extraordinarily significant in illustrating the indebtedness of Tarsian coin-designers to non-Greek sources, for the closest parallel is provided by the statues on the back

⁷¹ Hoplite : Babelon cv.1-15 (dated to earlier fifth century); SNG von Aulock 5911-13 (c. 425-400, called satrap); Hess/Leu 1 (1954), no. 175 (placed c. 450). Archer : Babelon cvi.1-4, cv.6. Footsoldiers : Babelon cvi.6-7.

⁷² Hippocamp : Babelon cvi.2, 5, 7; on SNG von Aulock 5908-9 Melqart is on the hippocamp; BM (Cahn 1950). Hero type : Babelon cvi.8-9.

⁷³ Kraay suggests the scenes of infantry are for the land troops; the marine deity, for the Phoenician fleet marshalled in the last stages of the Peloponnesian war.

⁷⁴ Babelon cvi.10 = BMC Cilicia, Soli 25 (horseman on reverse).

of lions from the palace of Kapara at Tell Halaf.⁷⁵ Actually it is now apparent that the name of Nergal occurs on other Tarsian issues, as the one shown on Plate XIV.c. Another remarkable example in a private collection has an obverse of Pegasus and Bellerophon which seems purely Greek; but the reverse depicts a standing Nergal in Persian garb with vegetation (Plate XV.i).⁷⁶ Influences from many parts of the Near East populated the divine world of Tarsus, and also affected the workmen in its mint.

To serve as the capstone of the complexity of early Tarsian issues, the same mint which struck Nergaltars on the back of a lion was also capable of producing, at the beginning of the fourth century, a purely Greek seated Athena conjoined on the reverse with a lovely figure of a kneeling maiden playing astragals and labelled only in Greek TERΣΙΚΟΝ (Plate XIV.h).⁷⁷ Not long thereafter came another type with the head of Aphrodite and a purely Greek Heracles strangling the Nemean lion (Plate XV.a).⁷⁸ The medley of styles and subjects utilized by the mint of Tarsus to this point is scarcely to be matched by the product of any other Asia Minor city striking in silver and suggests how varied was the cultural inheritance of that "no mean city" which continued in later days to stand on the border of Hellenic and Near Eastern ways of thought.

During the first half of the fourth century Tarsus and neighboring Cilician mints at Soli, Issus, and elsewhere—as well as centers farther to the west—were called upon for coinage in immense quantities. The

⁷⁵ See Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, fig. 341; cf. the late Hellenistic issues of Tarsus which show Sandon standing on a horned animal, as SNG Copenhagen 328 ff., and the sealings of worship from Persepolis (Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, pp. 24-26).

⁷⁶ I owe initial information on this and other matters to the late Henri Seyrig. Nergal can also be read on a third-stater in the British Museum (Grant Duff 1896); SNG von Aulock 5910; Babelon cvi.5—all protome of winged horse or lion/standing bearded man with bow and staff. See now L. Mildenberg, "Nergal in Tarsos", *Antike Kunst*, Beineft 9 (1973), pp. 50-52, who suggests a late fifth-century date for the example in the British Museum and perhaps two or three decades later for the Bellerophon issue. It may be noted that a priest of Nergal appears even in the Piraeus (*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, I, no. 119).

⁷⁷ Babelon cxxxviii.3; Hess/Leu 19 (1962), no. 334; MuM List 297 (February 1969), no. 19; SNG von Aulock 5915.

⁷⁸ SNG Copenhagen 303.

first issues, which survive in lesser numbers, were ordered by Tiribazus, who was *karanos* of Asia Minor in 393 and again from 388 onwards (see Plate XV for the following issues).⁷⁹ Examples from Tarsus show a standing Baaltars/winged sundisk with Tiribazus written in Aramaic. On this type, unlike the Greco-Persian seals, the figure of Ahura Mazda himself appears on the sundisk. This design was also issued at Issus, Mallus, and perhaps Nagidus.⁸⁰ These latter mints struck at about the same time but without the name of Tiribazus patterns of Heracles/bearded satrap, running king/Heracles and lion, running king/king as archer, Aphrodite/satrap, Dionysus/satrap.⁸¹ Soli also issued coins with Heracles/satrap and Baal/Ahura Mazda holding a lotus flower.⁸²

After Tiribazus' issues comes the tremendous volume of coins labelled FaRNaBaZu CHiLiK in Aramaic or more rarely KIΛIKION in Greek.⁸³ The head of Heracles continues to be used to a minor degree, but the most common type is a frontal Aphrodite modelled on the famous Arethusa of Syracusan coinage, and on the reverse a powerful depiction of a helmeted warrior, usually identified by modern students as Ares but often labelled Pharnabazus—Babelon neatly called it “une effigie abstraite de satrape, chef d’armée”. The helmet sometimes is Ionic, sometimes Attic, and the latter at times has the three leaves customary on Athenian coinage of the fifth century. The *ankh* also appears in a variety of forms, but without a careful study of die links it would be unsafe to try to connect any one form with a particular mint.⁸⁴ Nonetheless Pharnabazus must have kept all the

⁷⁹ E. T. Newell, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4. ser. XIV (1914), p. 33, suggested that the coinage of Tiribazus was largely melted down to provide silver for the following great issues.

⁸⁰ Tarsus : Babelon cvii.20. Mallus : Boston 2119; SNG von Aulock 5712-13; Hess/Leu 19 (1962), no. 327; Babelon cvii.18. Issus : Babelon cvii.17; SNG von Aulock 5601-2. Nagidus? : SNG Berry 1281. It may be observed that Cypriote and Aramaic punchmarks, as well as more graphic punchmarks, occur frequently on Cilician issues.

⁸¹ Issus : Babelon cvii.14; SNG von Aulock 5603. Mallus : Babelon cvii.5-11; SNG von Aulock 5716-8. Nagidus : Leu 7 (1973), no. 260; P. Lederer, “Die Staterprägung der Stadt Nagidus”, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XLI (1931), pp. 153 ff.

⁸² Babelon cvii.1-4, 19.

⁸³ KIΛIKION appears on Ars classica 1.2847; Babelon cviii.6-7. General issues : Babelon cviii.2-7, 12-13; the von Aulock and Copenhagen collections are rich in variants for this and subsequent satrapal issues.

⁸⁴ Note the caution of C. M. Kraay, *Greek Coins and History* (London, 1969, pp. 14-15.

mints in Cilicia busy, for other types were struck as well. The Heracles issues of Pharnabazus have CHiLiK in Aramaic and TERΣΙΚΟΝ beside the figure of Ares.⁸⁵ Another coin of this time is a seated Baaltars/Ares with Aramaic lettering, and from Nagidus there comes Aphrodite with Greek/Ares with Aramaic.⁸⁶

Immediately after Pharnabazus Datames struck an equally large coinage. The first type is that of Pharnabazus' period. Then follows a second: on the obverse Baaltars in profile and seated, encircled by a wall design; on the reverse Datames sitting and examining an arrow. The third has a seated Baaltars looking out at the viewer and on the reverse Datames and the god Ana on either side of an incense-burner.⁸⁷ Here again there are many added symbols or letters under the chair or in the field; Greek, however, seems never to have been used. In the huge hoard found at Karaman before 1948 an identified group of 1062 coins had 108 Pharnabazus, 355 Datames (but not the third type), 393 Aspendus, and 171 Selge.⁸⁸ The latter issues, of the usual designs for the two cities, suggest that the Persian commands stretched outside Cilicia itself even though these Greek mints continued to use their conventional patterns.

These great issues, which can be dated about 379-373, were certainly connected with Persian military preparations, presumably for the abortive attack on Egypt. Neither Pharnabazus nor Datames was satrap in Cilicia itself (the former, indeed, came down from the royal court); their role was rather that of over-all commanders of a major expedition. The coinage in question is on the usual standard of southern Asia Minor, staters or double-sigloi; but its issuance, rather than the striking of *sigloi* proper, must owe much to other factors than the local mint patterns. In particular Aphrodite and Ares were selected both for martial connotation and also to have some familiarity for

⁸⁵ SNG Copenhagen 272; Leu 7 (1973), no. 262; SNG von Aulock 5926.

⁸⁶ Baaltars/Ares: Leu 7 (1973), no. 263; SNG von Aulock 5927-33; SNG Berry 1288; Babelon cvii.3. Nagidus: BMC lviii.15.

⁸⁷ Babelon cvii.18-20, cix.1-14.

⁸⁸ O. Mørkholm, "A South Anatolian Coin Hoard", *Acta Archaeologica*, XXX (1959), pp. 184-200. In *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7. ser. XI (1971), p. 28, he lowers its date to c. 365-360.

Greek mercenaries, recruited in numbers and paid on a fairly lavish scale.⁸⁹

Beside Greek soldiers, however, the coinage especially of Datames could lead one to think of native drafts. Further evidence tending in this direction is provided by the issuance of obols in large numbers in Cilicia at uncertain points in the fourth century (Plate XVI.e-g). Some repeat the Pharnabazus type, others show a seated Baaltars/head of a wolf, but Ahura Mazda/protome of Pegasus is also common.⁹⁰

Illumination of the common circulation of very different types is provided by an absorbing hoard found a few years ago at Nablus, which may have been deposited as a consequence of Persian operations in Syria and Palestine (see Plate XVI.a-d).⁹¹ In the hoard were some larger coins including eastern imitations of Athenian tetradrachms, products of Tyre and Sidon, and so on; but a very large section was treasured in the form of obols. Partly these were of Cilician nature. A few came apparently from Cyprus, including a Pegasus/seated frontal nude female of Greek style; the rest were perhaps struck at mints in Syria and Palestine to judge from the variety of Semitic scripts which were employed. Among these types, sometimes usual, sometimes unique, were king in chariot/king killing bull (the hero which we have encountered in many other media), deity seated with the Greek word ZEUS beside it/horseman in flying gallop, winged deity with Canaanite letters for "El"/seated king. Two examples have the obverse design of satrap testing bow and Phoenician inscription for "Gerbaal" combined with a reverse of two facing figures within a pattern of rectilinear lines; the most obvious parallel for the latter, which ill fits the circular

⁸⁹ Greek mercenaries will be discussed below, in Part III.

⁹⁰ Arethusa/Ares : SNG Copenhagen 273. Athena/Baaltars : SNG Copenhagen 304. Baaltars/forepart of wolf and waning moon : SNG Lockett 3057-8. Ahura Mazda/forepart of Pegasus : SNG Lockett 3059; Babelon cxiv.8. Youth/kneeling girl : SNG von Aulock 5427. Heracles/eagle? : SNG von Aulock 5424.

⁹¹ I am much indebted to Mrs. Silvia Hurter, Bank Leu, and her colleague Arnold Spaer of Jerusalem for permission to touch upon the contents and bearing of this hoard, which they hope to publish at a future date; for the excellent photographs I am further in the debt of Mrs. Hurter.

shape of a coin, can be found in Mesopotamian cylinder-seal designs.⁹²

A great deal of this hoard appears to have been struck hastily; some examples were even cast in molds drawn from an Athenian model. It appears a reasonable guess that the coins were assembled by a camp merchant or the like from moneys paid to the troops on an expedition, and if so one might further infer that the soldiers in question were largely native troops, perhaps rewarded on a lesser scale than Greek mercenaries and also more likely to appreciate some of the types which were struck. Above all the Nablus hoard provides a powerful illustration of the continued hold of old Near Eastern artistic motifs, as expressed to some degree in a Persian idiom; yet while most of the lettering is Semitic there appears also ZEUS with a definitely non-Greek figure.

Shortly before Alexander's invasion Mazaeus was satrap in Cilicia, and struck again very large issues of staters (Plate XV.g, h); one piece in gold even survives.⁹³ His first type was a seated Baaltars/lion attacking stag; a variety of Aramaic letters and symbols appears under the throne or on the reverse. This issue was a model for coinage struck in Cappadocia by Ariarathes I; it even turns up in "barbarous" copies, which must have been coined somewhere in the interior of Asia Minor.⁹⁴ Then came a seated Baaltars/lion attacking a bull, above two rows of towers, and normally with the Aramaic label "Mazaeus over Transeuphrates-Cilicia". The walls have often been taken to be the Cilician Gates but are more probably the fortifications of Tarsus; the title shows the enlargement of the satrap's power after the reconquest of Syria and Palestine.⁹⁵ Mazaeus also struck purely Phoenician patterns in Byblos.

Later Mazaeus even served Alexander as satrap of Babylon, and coinage with frontal Athena/Baaltars or Baaltars/walking lion was issued in Cilicia and also in Mesopotamia on into the days of

⁹² One may compare the common Mesopotamian design of placing two or three vertical lines of cuneiform script on one side of a figured pattern, and separating these lines by dividers; cf. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals*, nos. 41, 43, 44, 64, 100, 103 from Ur III on to Achaemenid times. The meaning of the two figures on the coin, one of whom is noticeably ithyphallic, remains to be determined.

⁹³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6. ser. VIII (1948), p. 59, no. 12; Babelon cxii, cxii, cxiii.

⁹⁴ Kress 155 (1972), no. 399.

⁹⁵ Babelon cxii.

Alexander's successors. When the conqueror himself began his imperial coinage with the types of Heracles/seated Zeus, the choice for the reverse may have been modelled primarily on a Greek original; but its resemblance to the Baaltars of the great Tarsian issues seems deliberate to make it "recognizable by Greeks, Phoenicians and Persians alike as representing a supreme power, of which Alexander was the earthly representative".⁹⁶

Who cut the dies for non-Greek issues of coinage in Asia Minor? In the city mints from Sinope on around through Aspendus and Selge there can be no doubt that regular designers continued to employ their usual patterns and at most added an Aramaic legend or, in some copper issues, derived a figure from Iranian sources. In Lycia, too, the die-engravers were either Greek or native artists trained in Greek styles. Throughout most of the peninsula the appearance of coinage occurred as areas became politically more consolidated and economically more connected to international trade; except in southeastern Asia Minor the obvious models were Hellenic in source.

This, however, is not quite all the story; the Cilician issues in the fourth century still pose serious problems. Here the great scholar Babelon had no doubt about the answer: "The presence of Greek artists in the mints of the Persian satraps has no need of demonstration".⁹⁷ This view still holds the field,⁹⁸ but in light of our investigation of other areas of artistic activity we may not be quite so sure it is correct.

The major Cilician issues were definitely struck for Persian purposes, on the order of Persian commanders whose names often appear. The subjects themselves were sometimes of Hellenic derivation, such as the facing head of Aphrodite which was copied from a popular Syracusan

⁹⁶ Kraay-Hirmer, *Greek Coins*, p. 349 (cf. p. 365).

⁹⁷ Babelon, *Traité*, II. col. 417. Schlumberger, *Mémoires de la délégation française en Afghanistan*, XIV (Paris, 1953), p. 23, is equally positive on the Greek character. Porada, *Art of Ancient Iran*, p. 174, would agree and even attributes the design of the daric to strong Greek influence (Boardman, *Greek Gems*, p. 326, on the other hand, assigns many issues to local artists).

⁹⁸ In support it is often asserted that the die-cutters bungled their Aramaic letters (as on Babelon cviii.3). On this technical matter I am not competent to pass judgment, but one does seem to find that in work clearly of Aramaic origin the letters are not always sharply designed.

design; but the copy was no more than competent—one need only compare it to the originality shown in the facing head of Apollo on the Clazomenean coinage. Many other types, especially in the periods of Datames and Mazaeus, are definitely non-Hellenic. Without launching too far into the field of subjective judgment it might be suggested that these latter compositions are more firmly designed than were those borrowed from Greece.

The remarkable variety of types struck earlier at Tarsus must always be kept in mind, especially when this abundance in variation is conjoined to the intriguing diversities of the Nablus hoard. For that matter we need only go down the Levantine shores to the Phoenician cities of Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, and Byblus to realize that completely non-Greek mints were capable of striking very refined coins across the later fifth and fourth centuries. A cautious student would demand proof that the die-cutters of Tarsus *were* Greek, rather than that they *were not*.

Another problem: does the coinage of Tarsus and southeastern Asia Minor as a whole demonstrate a rise of Hellenism in the fourth century? To look first to form, a comparison of the varied issues which may be ascribed to the fifth century with the great body of material from the fourth century shows without question that the later designers worked much more sharply and firmly, and had a clearer concept of composition. For example, the bull-and-lion of the fifth-century coins is far inferior in these respects to the parallel design cut in Mazaeus' mint. Clarity, however, was not simply a Hellenic virtue; the sculpture and metalwork of Achaemenid Persia were the product of equally refined workshops. What had happened in Cilicia and elsewhere was rather an artistic advance to a more sophisticated plane. Whenever this occurs, the result is normally a demand for more polished, incisive designs; in the present case we can at most conclude that coin-cutters could in part meet the demand by drafts on Greek style.

In content, the issues of Cilicia unmistakably demonstrate that their designers, no less than the cutters of Greco-Persian seals, were indebted to two cultures. On the great satrapal coinages the development is not *toward* Hellenic subjects but rather the reverse. Aphrodite quickly disappears; Greek letters do not occur after the issues of Pharnabazus; and the lion/bull motif of Mazaeus' coinage is directly

drawn from a Near Eastern scheme. Much earlier in our discussion it was noted that the presence of Lydian, Lycian, and Aramaic on inscriptions, though scanty, would seem more evident in the fourth century; if true, this point also would suggest that Hellenism was not drowning out other ways of life.

We have examined at some length various groups of coinage which are not often studied for their own sake; the conclusions which follow, however, are of the highest importance. To sum up, in those areas of Asia Minor which were not purely Hellenic by ancestry the coinage suggests a considerable development in the fourth century. The issues are neither Hellenic nor Achaemenid, but rather an interweaving of motifs and styles drawn from east and west alike. Above all, the process was not a purely mechanical coupling of disparate, jarring elements, at least after the issues of Pharnabazus; fusion was taking place in a fascinating alchemy which appeared to have real promise.

PART III GENERAL REFLECTIONS

The meeting of Greek and Persian in Anatolia should be a study for the future.
(J. M. Cook, *Archaeological Reports for 1970-71*), p. 60).

In the ancient world most men were born into agricultural villages, lived and died where they had been born, and never traveled more than a few miles to a nearby city or shrine. We think of the Greeks as bold venturers, but even in Attica the bulk of the population was farm-bound at least down to the time of the Peloponnesian war. The webs of trade and culture which linked the villages—or, perhaps more accurately, existed as a mesh *around* them—were thin indeed, even though the passage of objects, ideas, and travelers along these threads had significant effects.

Intercourse between Greeks and Persians is therefore not to be visualized in terms of modern international movements of businessmen, artisans, politicians, travelers, and scholars. Only in a very relative way can we say that many Greeks entered the Persian empire. Those

whose names are known were mostly admirals and navigators, generals and tactical instructors, diplomats and refugee politicians, doctors and artists; but concubines and dancing masters also appear in the record.¹ Curiosity brought a man like Herodotus; later Plato could speak of travel as a natural activity of a "free man".²

Far more numerous were the anonymous masses of Greek mercenaries: sailors under Conon, infantry hoplites under many commanders. Since the days of Nebuchadrezzar and Amasis Near Eastern rulers had drawn on Aegean military strength to provide a stiffening or specialized element for their native levies, just as modern Arabic and African states have made use of European soldiers of fortune and pilots. Too many scholars, however, have accepted the exaggerations of Isocrates, Xenophon, and other partisan writers; the Persian empire did not rely solely on mercenary strengths.³

What did these Greeks bring to Persia, or take back with them? Ambassadors and those mercenaries who survived the dangers of war and disease probably did return home; slaves, transplanted Greek dissidents from Ionia, concubines, and refugees would for the most part have been swallowed up permanently in their new Persian quarters. One cannot see that the latter groups had necessarily any deeper influence than did the Thracian slaves and Scythian archers who lived permanently in Athens.⁴ The major item brought back to Greece by those who did return consisted probably of darics and *sigloi*, together with tales of foreign oddities; but the evidence we have does not suggest that the Greeks understood the Persians any better in the fourth century than they had in the days of the cool-eyed, observant Herodotus.

¹ E.g., Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.7.18, 1.10.2 ff., 2.1.7; Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 21, 26-27. See also above, Chap. 1, p. 49.

² Plato, *Republic*, Q.579 B-C.

³ H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus* (Oxford, 1933); early examples are Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I, no. 4 (Egypt) or Alcaeus 350 LP (Nebuchadrezzar).

⁴ Cf. for example the Thracian maid servant with tattoo marks on the loutrophoros of the Kleophrades painter (Athens NM 1170), reproduced on Plate VI of my *Awakening of the Greek Historical Spirit*; the scene is purely Greek. The stories of Democedes (Herodotus 3.135-37) and Histaeus (5.35) may suggest that Greeks even of free birth did not always find it easy to leave the Persian court.

Persian travel or settlement in Greece is more scantily attested, partly perhaps because we do not have Persian sources. There were refugee Persian officials; envoys bearing bribes are notorious; one Persian even appears to have been a student in Plato's Academy.⁵ But movement in a westward direction surely had as little influence as the countercurrent to the east. We always must come back to the major fact that Achaemenid and Hellenic cultures were firmly set by the fifth and fourth centuries and were not, in themselves, likely to respond seriously to outside impetus.

Significant Greek influence at Persepolis, as I have noted, can be seen only by those who look with Greek eyes; nor, on the other side, does the borrowing of an eastern motif by Greek artists prove anything of consequence. Occasionally scholars have discovered mystic, far reaching connotations in this or that design, discoveries which chiefly illuminate the ingenuity of their authors. The interpretation, for instance, of the Mazaeus coinage as showing "the Greek stag devoured by the Asiatic lion" stands on the same level as Alexander's explanation of the eclipse before his decisive battle near Arbela—the Hellenic sun was overcoming the Asiatic moon.⁶

Even if we grant that the two homelands lived in essential cultural independence, the major question in this essay still remains: what were the results when the two worlds met, especially on the frontier in Asia Minor? In an attempt to throw light on this serious historical issue the preceding pages have adduced a great variety of scattered evidence, both literary and physical, which has not often been marshalled side by side. Does this material give us any clues?

Many students of history still define their subject as a political narrative which rests on literary sources, and for such students the answer would be negative; that hostile view of the Persians as both weak and rich which Isocrates and Xenophon elaborated in written form survives intact in most modern accounts. But the historian who

⁵ So T. B. L. Webster, *Athenian Culture* (London, 1972), p. 77, interprets the dedication of a statue of Plato by Mithridates (Diogenes Laertius 3.25).

⁶ Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 437. Porada, *Art of Ancient Iran*, p. 160, observes that at Persepolis the motif has been taken as a symbol of the equinoxes or of royal victory; see the sensible discussion by Bivar, *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, pp. 54-59.

feels that the arts of an era must suggest, if unconsciously, some of its main forces may find a very different answer to the problem before us.

In brief, the physical material available at present from Asia Minor does not support the usual view that cultural influence came only from the Hellenic side, nor does it corroborate a negative picture of Persian weakness. This scheme, indeed, simply does not correspond to the political and economic realities of the fourth century.

On the contrary, the superficial political unification of the peninsula by Cyprus in the mid-sixth century was maintained and even strengthened by the fourth century. After the shock of the Persian failure in the invasions of Greece under Darius and Xerxes the Athenians had been able to dominate much of the seacoast, but the shield of Athenian sea power was smashed in the last years of the Peloponnesian war. Spartan thalassocracy was a much briefer flower which withered in the battle of Cnidus (394); Spartan power by land—a potent stabilizing force in Hellas in earlier days—was ended in 371. By this time Persian control in all Asia Minor had already been established anew for a generation, and it was not seriously threatened by any Greek power until the time of Alexander.

That little figure of the “running king” which marked Persian royal coinage and some issues ordered by field commanders (Plates XIII.d, f; XV.c) may strike a modern eye as almost farcical, but the shadow of the Great King as seated in majesty at Persepolis (Plate VIII.a) stretched far across even mainland Greece in the fourth century. The frenetic, inconsistent literary attacks on the Persians as both weak and rich are the mirror image of this situation; Demosthenes recognized the realities more directly. In part Persian influence was exerted by means of skillful deployment of its gold, but the power of the king by sea was equally significant. By the fourth century, moreover, Greek commerce in the western Mediterranean had declined severely, and major lines of trade had shifted toward the eastern shores, a factor which put Aegean foreign trade even more at the mercy of Persian power.

We cannot see into the debates of Persian royal councils, nor can we hope to distinguish very sharply any shifts in Persian policy which might have been due to the succession of the Persian monarchs. The

Greek embassies sought earnestly to reach the king himself, but seem often to have had to content themselves in audiences with an Asia Minor satrap or *karanos*. Far off in distant Susa, however, orders were issued which sometimes produced replacement of the officials who were to execute them; and if we survey the whole course of Persian activity in the eastern Mediterranean across the fourth century the conclusion is inescapable that there *was* a policy, and that in the long run the Persians successfully carried it out, even to the final reconquest of Egypt.

A full treatment of the economic progress of Asia Minor under Persian rule will require much more extensive exploration of the interior than has thus far been achieved. The Greek cities along the coasts certainly were thriving by the century, and scattered discoveries suggest that parts of the Anatolian upland plateau were quickening; we can only speculate whether Persian military needs of troops, food, and money helped to speed this process. It certainly is not without importance that hoards of coinage appear in our period even in landlocked Cappadocia, and that this area had begun to strike coins by the time Alexander came. Economically, however, the pattern of organization remained Near Eastern as far as one can now see; socially as well rural magnates lived within an essentially Iranian style, to judge from the independent evidence of seals and of reliefs, except directly adjacent to the coasts. To speak of religion in the period is difficult, but the scanty survivals and later evidence suggest that eastern influences were at least as important on native religious structures and cults as were those from the Aegean.

In a brief comment the thoughtful English archeologist J. M. Cook has suggested that the Persian conquest of Asia Minor contributed "to the penetration of Anatolia (and perhaps also Lycia) by late archaic Greek artistic forms".⁷ The stabilization of political rule and the growth of economic activity must indeed have provided avenues for the transmission of powerful influences from the dynamic civilization of Greece; by the fourth century this culture was exerting a fascination on parts of Phoenicia and even in conservative Egypt. In Asia Minor

⁷ Cook, *Archaeological Reports for 1970-71*, p. 60; cf. his discussion of the Hellenization of Gergis in *The Troad*, p. 351.

Hellenism had spread tentacles inland into Phrygia and Pisidia before Alexander; thereafter its hold deepened in these areas—but not east of Cappadocia—in Hellenistic and Roman times on into the world of Byzantium. Then Greek influences began to ebb away in a long rearguard action scarcely ended before the coup de grâce in the debacle of 1922.⁸

There is, however, another factor always to be kept in mind, the powerful civilization of Achaemenid Persia as the heir to millennia of Mesopotamian development. We can perhaps expand Cook's remark and suggest that the Persian conquest of Asia Minor also opened the way for the expansion westward of this polished, highly attractive culture.

In describing it thus, I must interpose proper cautions lest the argument of this work be judged *philobarbaros*, as Herodotus' history of the rise of Persia was termed in antiquity. An age such as ours which has almost deified external change is not one which can appreciate the essentially static quality of Achaemenid art and society, once these had been firmly established in the first generations of Persian empire. That conservative character may, indeed, have rendered the Persians less capable in the end of coping with the turbulent, but ever thrusting quality of Greek civilization once its powers had been harnessed by Macedonia.

On the other hand the Persian kings did maintain their lordship over two centuries. Composite though their culture may have been, it did differ markedly from its Near Eastern predecessors, and it possessed a magnificent unity of concept and style, just as the Persian political framework was a new step in western Asiatic history.⁹ Achaemenid culture was deeply important from India westward to the Mediterranean;¹⁰ it was attractive even in Scythian lands as far as south Russia. In the long run the strengths which Persia united, though checked momentarily by the bar of Hellenistic and then of Roman

⁸ Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971).

⁹ Here I have in mind the very just remarks by Amandry, *Le Rayonnement*, p. 581.

¹⁰ Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan to Ashoka* (New York, 1959); Jean Filliozat, "L'Inde et les échanges scientifiques dans l'antiquité", *Journal of World History*, I (1953), pp. 353-67, comments on pre-Alexandrian contacts.

domination, were to roll on as far as the gates of Vienna before Turkish power in its turn ebbed also.

Such remarks, though valid, are perhaps too cosmic in sweep. In the present context the vital point is that we have been looking at the most interesting cultural confrontation in all ancient history, for nowhere else did two genuinely strong and vigorous civilized ways of life meet so directly as in Asia Minor under Persian rule. In Italy, a counterfoil which I have noted at several points, the Etruscans and then the Romans took over many fundamental achievements of Greek culture almost without native alteration; by the time Cato the Elder launched his fiery attacks on the insidious Greeks it was far too late for the Romans to progress along really independent lines.

The development of Asia Minor was far otherwise. The reader will, I hope, have observed the remarkable degree to which all the artistic work in the peninsula, especially the seals, sculpture, and coinage, points in the same direction. This convergence must be a source of great encouragement to anyone searching in the fragmentary, sadly limited body of physical evidence which is available in many areas; for if each type of material, independently considered, suggests a similar pattern of conclusions, then individual weaknesses are thereby buttressed.

If Asia Minor, then, did not yield itself completely to Hellenism in the fourth century, the ultimate cause was the existence of a major alternative culture which appealed strongly to the growingly conscious upper classes of the peninsula. Greek civilization, after all, was directly tied to city ways of life; in the inland districts, cities scarcely existed, and the rural aristocracy found much which was sympathetic to it in the more developed Iranian world to the east. At the same time the craftsmen and artists drew heavily on the magnificent forms fashioned by classic Greece. Neither culturally nor politically was this a situation of hostility; the view that Alexander wove together "the previously antagonistic societies of Greece and the Middle East" is facile, widely popular, but totally misconceived.¹¹

¹¹ I cite the phrase, as *communis opinio*, from A. James Reichley in *Fortune*, September 1971, p. 91; but the view may be found in more specialized works such as Ernst Kornemann, *Weltgeschichte des Mittelmeerraumes von Philip II von Makedonien bis Muhammed*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1948-49).

As may have been noted, however, I have not advanced any proposition of a merger between the two worlds; Persian and Hellenic outlooks "never succeeded in amalgamating on the spiritual plane".¹² But in sober truth could an observer expect that any such amalgamation was possible? Only in the superficial aspects of some religious cults or in the trumpery decoration of wares made in the Orient for Western markets is there much sign of any such merger in modern times; true cultures, based on developed explorations of fundamental attitudes, can never "merge" in any real meaning of the word.

What did occur can be suggested by the coinage of Tarsus. The recipients of these staters, whether Hellenic or Iranian-oriented, were willing to accept their variety of motifs, struck under Persian political control and used for Persian military purposes. Artistically—and I would judge in other ways too—inspiration and achievement were rising sharply in fourth-century Asia Minor, sometimes through the medium of Greek artists working in Near Eastern schemes for satraps and dynasts, but probably more often via natives of the peninsula who were open to both East and West. Whether one inspects the head of Ares on the issues of Pharnabazus or the bull and lion of the coinage of Mazaeus, the significant point is not the origin of the types but the polished, refined skill of the die-cutters themselves. After the King's Peace of 387 someone observed to Agesilaus that it was an evil day for Greece when the Spartans medized. Agesilaus replied, "Are not the Medes the rather spartanizing?"¹³ The truth may lie on neither side.

Perhaps the time has not yet come when a historian can properly express judgment on a great historical question underlying the present investigation. This issue has always been in the back of my mind, and it may well have concerned the reader as well. What, that is, would have happened to this fruitful interpenetration if the brutal sword of Alexander had not slashed across the Near and Middle East? Even though we must admit that no amount of evidence would ever be enough to support a conclusive answer, an unconventional reply might be proffered.

¹² Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, p. 270.

¹³ Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 22.

After looking at what was being achieved in Asia Minor peacefully before the time of Alexander, I can only deduce that his invasion distorted and disrupted, rather than accelerated the processes which were at work in the fourth century, not only in Asia Minor but also on the coast of Phoenicia and other Levantine areas. The idea that Alexander brought civilization to the Near East, which is at times baldly put forward, is absurd;¹⁴ but even the more circumspect eulogies of the results of his conquest look only through Greek and Roman eyes, ignoring the Near Eastern world in itself. In Hellenistic states Greek was the language of government, and the military monarchs of the period were far less tolerant of native ways than had been the Persian kings. So too the Ptolemies and the Seleucids and their supporters accepted only obviously Hellenic artistic styles. The superficial character of the Hellenistic age was Greek in every major respect; the Iranian side was depressed and hidden until Sassanian, and still more Arab days.

Historians learn early in their apprenticeships that any exploration of "maybes" is unwarranted speculation, for one can never know what might have happened as against what did occur. We cannot, however, really judge the meaning of any major event unless we do speculate. To conclude, let me ask the reader to meditate on what might have taken place if the interpenetration of the two cultures which we have traced out in Asia Minor had continued to develop on essentially equal terms under Persian rule, in a situation where Hellenic influences made their way on merits rather than through political superiority and Iranian influences were not artificially depressed. The promise of what was occurring in the fourth century can at least suggest that this peaceful interweaving would have produced very different effects across the eastern Mediterranean and even farther afield. Only on the surface, and only from the point of view of Western civilization, is the conventional praise of the results of Alexander's conquests justified.

¹⁴ Amr Badi, *Les Grecs et les Barbares*, 3 vols. to date (Lausanne, 1959-) is a continuing diatribe against this concept by an amateur historian, which though repetitious has considerable value (if only in its explosive manner).

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EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES

I. Seals of Persian Kings

(a) Agate seal with name of Darius (British Museum WA 89132). Photograph courtesy of the Museum; (b) Clay sealing with name of Xerxes from Dascylium (E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, fig. 122). Photograph courtesy of W. de Gruyter & Co., Berlin.

II. Greco-Persian Seals

(a) King fighting lion (Leningrad; Boardman, *Greek Gems* no. 824); (b) King revering Anaitis (Leningrad; Boardman no. 878); (c) Horse with winged sundisk (Berlin; Boardman no. 831); (d) Horseman attacking hoplite (Rome; Boardman no. 881). Photographs courtesy of John Boardman except (c), courtesy Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz FG 180.

III. Greco-Persian Seals

(a) Horseman spearing boar (London WA 120325; Boardman no. 905); (b) Hunter on foot (Paris BA 1095; Boardman no. 885); (c) Persian and Greek men, nude female, and cocks (Leningrad; Boardman no. 861). Photographs courtesy of John Boardman.

IV. Greco-Persian Seals

(a) Male being served by female (Oxford; Boardman no. 880); (b) Persian warrior (Leningrad; Boardman no. 532); (c) Lion attacking bull (London 537; Boardman no. 935); (d) Persian guard (Paris; Boardman no. 877). Photographs courtesy of John Boardman.

V. Metalwork

Ibex handle (Paris). Photograph courtesy of Rand McNally & Co.

VI. Sculptured Relief

Hunting scene from the Satrap Sarcophagus (Istanbul). Photograph courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul.

VII. Sculptured Relief

Banqueting scene from the Satrap Sarcophagus (Kleeman, *Der Satrapen-Sarkophag*, plate 9).

VIII. Sculptured Relief

(a) Darius in audience, from the Treasury at Persepolis (Tehran). Photograph courtesy of Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (b) Relief from Ödemis (Smyrna). Photograph courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul.

IX. Dascylium Stele

Funeral cortège and banquet (Istanbul). Photograph courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul.

X. Grave Stele from Çavuşköy

Hunting scene and banquet (Istanbul). Photograph courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul.

XI. Relief from Dascylium

Procession of women (Istanbul). Photograph courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul.

XII. Sacrificial Scene from Dascylium

Priests and sacrificial animals (Istanbul). Photograph courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul.

XIII. Coinage of Asia Minor

(a) Sinope: head of Sinope/eagle and dolphin, aBKaMaNu in Aramaic (Hess/Leu 19 [1962], no. 260); (b) Tissaphernes: head of satrap with tiara and cap/owl with olive leaves and crescent moon, BAS in Greek (British Museum); (c) Tissaphernes: head of satrap, ends of cap tied below chin/lyre, BAS in Greek (British Museum); (d) gold daric: running king/incuse punch (Bank Leu) [obverse only]; (e) Pharnabazus: head of satrap with *PHARNABA* in Greek/prow of ship, tunny and dolphins (Paris: Babelon plate cviii.1); (f) Tissaphernes or Pharnabazus: head of satrap/running king, galley, BASILEOS in Greek (Berlin: Babelon plate lxxxviii.10); (g) Memnon?: king as archer, BA below, P to left/horseman in flying gallop, head of Heracles (Niggeler 508); (h) Memnon?: king as archer, PYTHAGORES in Greek/incuse carefully designed (Paris); (i) Orontas (gold): head of satrap/forepart of winged horse (Boston 1593); (j) Sigeion (copper): head of satrap/owl, BA (SNG von Aulock 7636); (k) (copper): head of Mithras/cantharos (SNG von Aulock 7004); (l) Spithridates: head of satrap/forepart of winged horse, SPITHRI in Greek (Paris: Babelon plate lxxxix.1); (m) Orontas: kneeling hoplite/forepart of winged boar, ORONTA in Greek (Paris: Babelon plate lxxxviii.22). Photographs of (b) and (c) courtesy of Museum; of (a), (d), and (g) courtesy of Bank Leu (Mrs. Silvia Hurter); of (h) courtesy of Ann Johnson Buttrey.

XIV. Coinage of Cilicia 1

(a) Tarsus: horseman/Nergaltars on back of lion, tree, NeRGaLTaRS in Aramaic (British Museum); (b) Bellerophon on Pegasus/Nergaltars in Persian costume with double-ax, bow, and vegetation, NeRGaLTaRS in Aramaic (private collection); (c) Tarsus: forepart of winged horse/god with bow and staff, NeRGAL in Aramaic (SNG von Aulock 5910); (d) Tarsus: plowman in Iranian dress and team, TaRS in Aramaic/cow looking at calf, sundisk (SNG von Aulock 5914); (e) Tarsus: lion biting bull/ear of wheat, head of wolf, TaRS in Aramaic (Paris: Babelon plate cv.16); (f) Tarsus: seated Baaltars?, human figure above ramparts/horseman, bunch of grapes (London: Babelon plate cvi.10); (g) Tarsus: Persian horseman/kneeling hoplite, TaRS in Aramaic (Babelon plate cv.12); (h) Tarsus: seated Athena, stem of olive/kneeling maiden, playing astragals, lotus flower, TERSIKON in Greek (Hess/Leu 19 [1962], no. 334). Photographs of (b), (c), (h) courtesy of Bank Leu (Mrs. Silvia Hurter); of (a), courtesy of British Museum.

XV. Coinage of Cilicia 2

(a) Tarsus: king attacking rampant lion/king, ankh, TERSI in Greek TaRS in Aramaic (Paris: Babelon plate cvi.8); (b) Tarsus: Persian horseman, ankh below/two Persian soldiers confronted with spears, Aramaic letter **נ** (Glasgow: Babelon plate cvi.6); (c) Mallus: running king with bow and staff, barley grain/Heracles wrestling Nemean lion, club (Ars classica 13, no. 908); (d) Mallus: Heracles/head of satrap, MALLOS in Greek (Ars classica 15, no. 1040); (e) Tarsus: Aphrodite/Heracles strangling Nemean lion, club (SNG Copenhagen 303); (f) Issus: Baaltars standing, ISSIKON in Greek, TeRIBaZU in Aramaic/Ahura Mazda sundisk, AMI in Greek (Paris: Babelon plate cvii.17); (g) Tarsus: Arethusa/helmeted head, KILIKION in Greek, CHiLiK in Aramaic (Ars classica 1, no. 28470); (h) Tarsus: Baaltars seated, Ba'ALTaRS in Aramaic/helmeted head, three olive leaves on visor, FaRNaBaZU CHiLiK in Aramaic (SNG von Aulock 5932); (i) Tarsus: Baaltars seated within rampant circle, Ba'ALTaRS in Aramaic/Ana and Datames, thymaterion between, TaDaNMu in Aramaic (SNG von Aulock 5943); (j) Tarsus: Baaltars, bull protome below chair, Ba'ALTaRS in Aramaic/Datames seated.

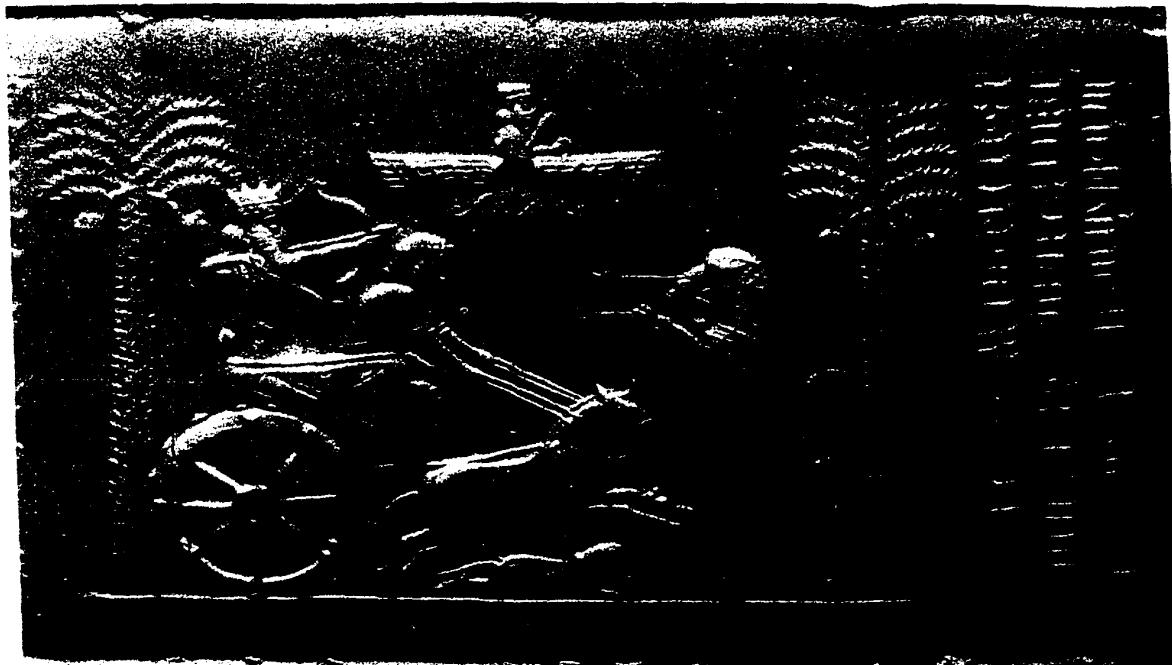
examining bow, sundisk in field, TaDaNMu in Aramaic (Niggeler 444); (k) Tarsus: Baaltars seated, head of beast below chair, Ba'ALTaRS in Aramaic/lion attacking stag, MaZDaI in Aramaic,  in field (de Luynes; Babelon cxii.1); (l) Tarsus: Baaltars seated,  under chair, BaALTaRS in Aramaic/lion attacking bull above two lines of wall, Aramaic for "Mazaeus over Transeuphrates and Cilicia (Hess/Leu 11 [1959], no. 284). Photographs of (j) and (l) courtesy of Bank Leu (Mrs. Silvia Hurter).

XVI. Obols: Nablus Hoard and Cilicia

(a) seated deity, ZEUS in Greek/horseman in flying gallop, unclear Semitic script (Nabulus no. 120); (b) seated deity/winged deity with ankh, EL in Old Hebrew (Nabulus no. 137); (c) forepart of winged bull/nude female seated frontally, holding bird (Nabulus no. 9); (d) seated satrap, testing bow, GeRBa'aL in Phoenician/two nude male figures confronted in parallel lines (Nabulus no. 36); (e) Cilicia: head of king or satrap forepart of winged horse (SNG Berry 1307); (f) Baaltars, TeRiBaZu in Aramaic, ankh head of king or satrap (Paris; Babelon plate cvii.15); (g) Baaltars seated, holding wheat and grape forepart of wolf, crescent (Ars classica 1, no. 2864). Photographs of (a), (b), (c), and (d) courtesy of Bank Leu (Mrs. Silvia Hurter).

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a) Agate seal (impression) with name of Darius



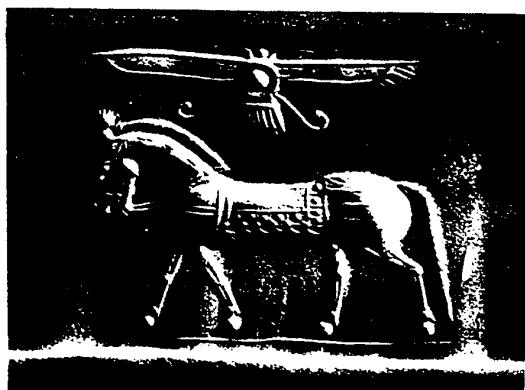
(b) Clay sealing with name of Xerxes (Dascylium)
SEALS OF PERSIAN KINGS



a



b

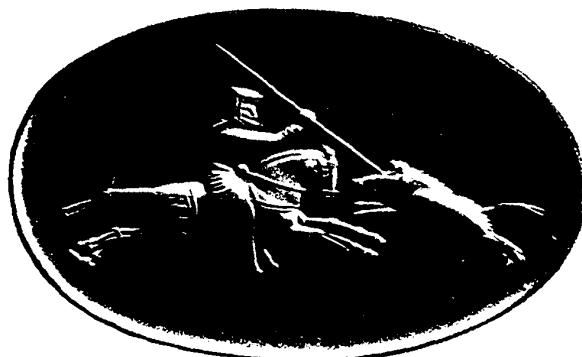


c



d

GRECO-PERSIAN SEALS



a



b



c

GRECO-PERSIAN SEALS



a



b



c



d

GRECO-PERSIAN SEALS



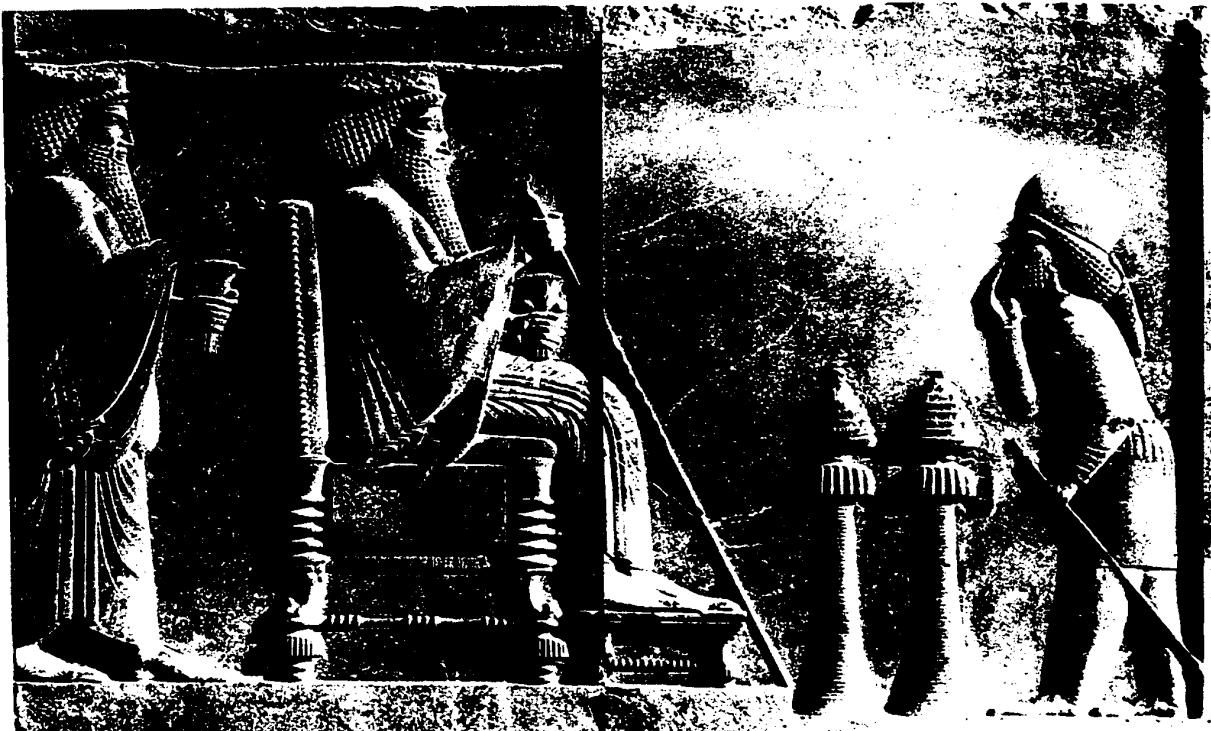
IBEX HANDLE OF VASE



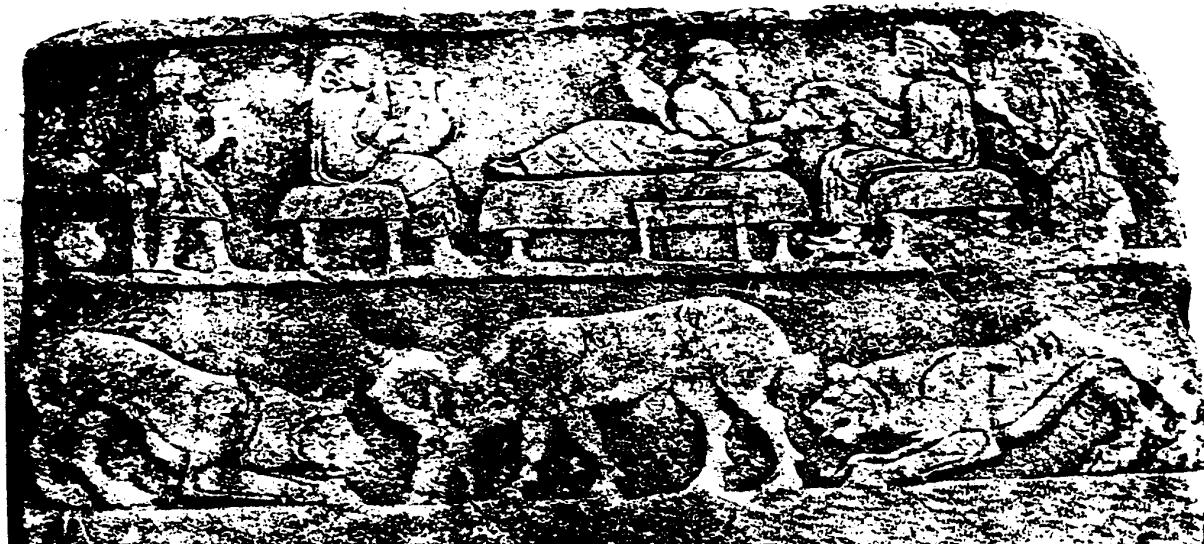
SCULPTURED RELIEF: Hunting scene from the Satrap Sarcophagus



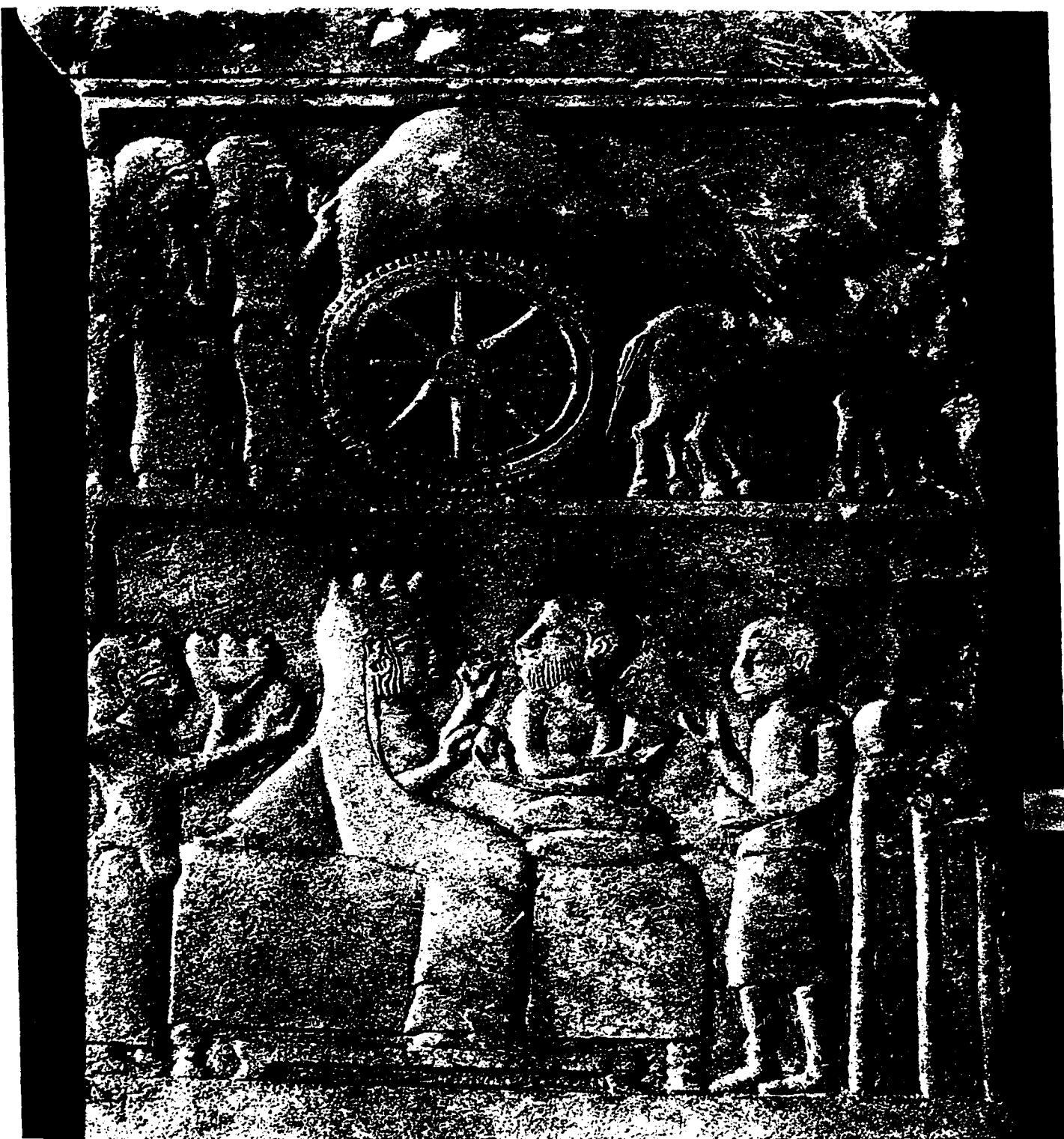
SCULPTURED RELIEF : Banquet scene from the Satrap Sarcophagus



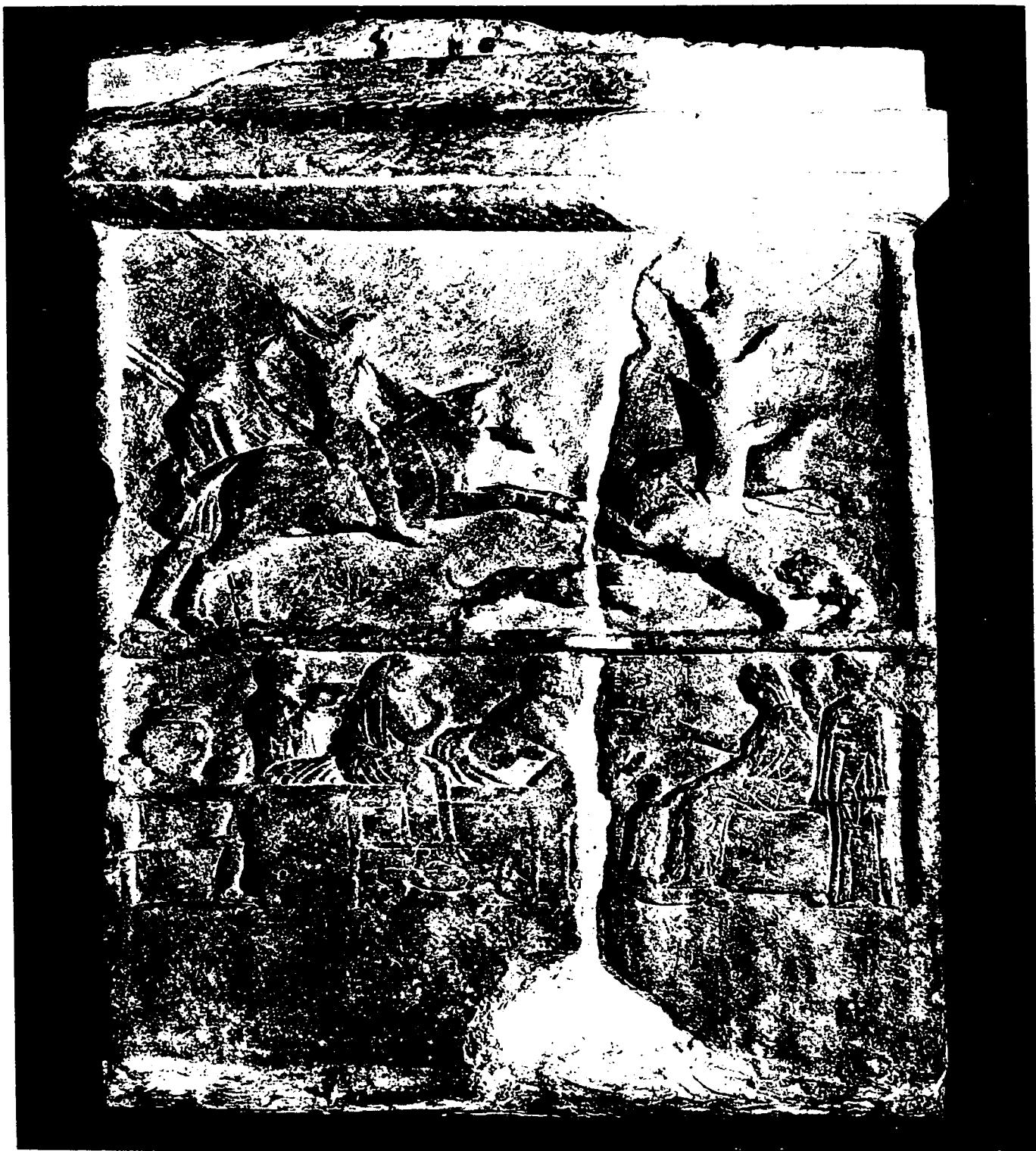
a) Darius in audience, from the Treasury at Persepolis



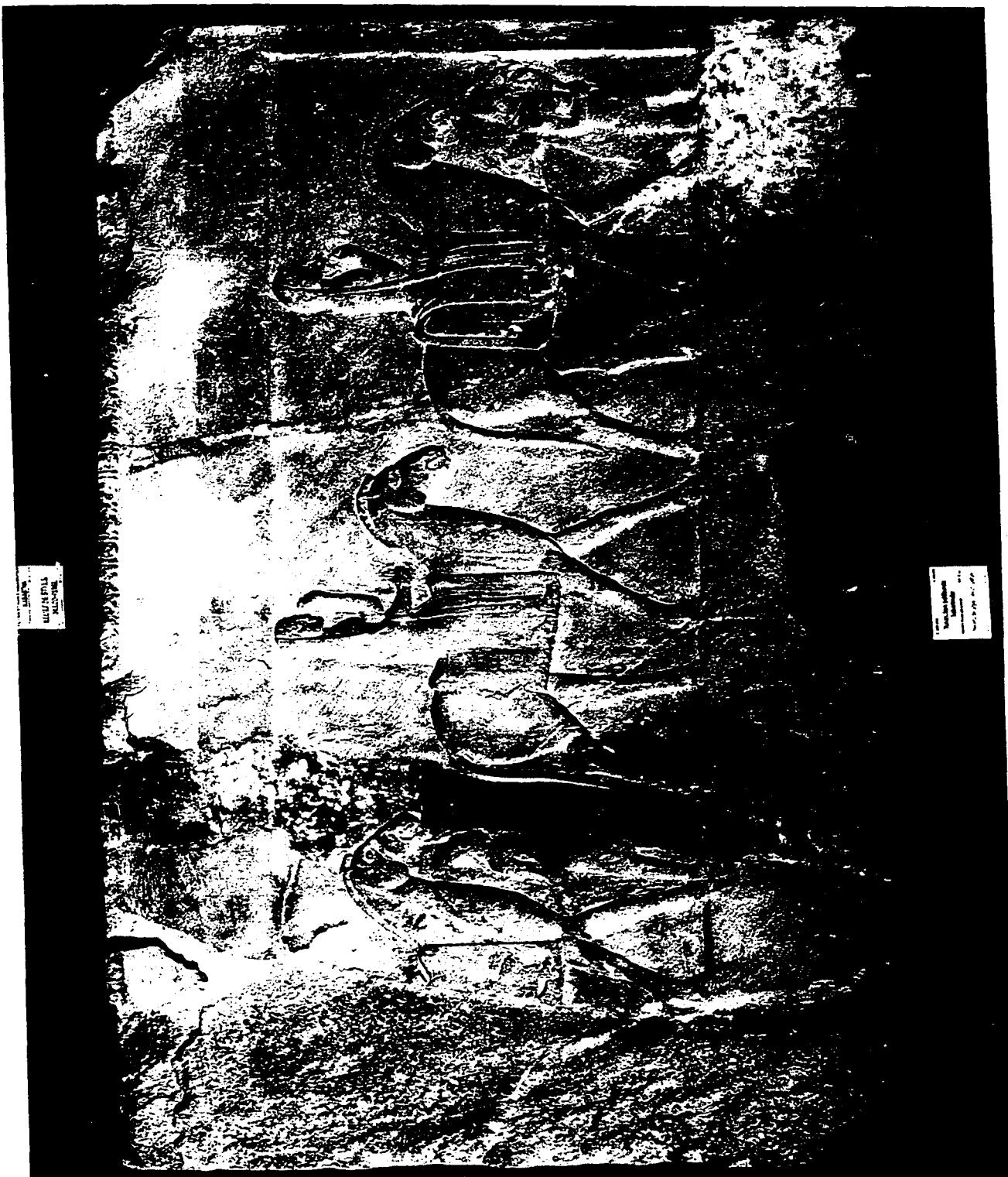
b) Relief from Ödemis
SCULPTURED RELIEF



DASCYLIUM STELE



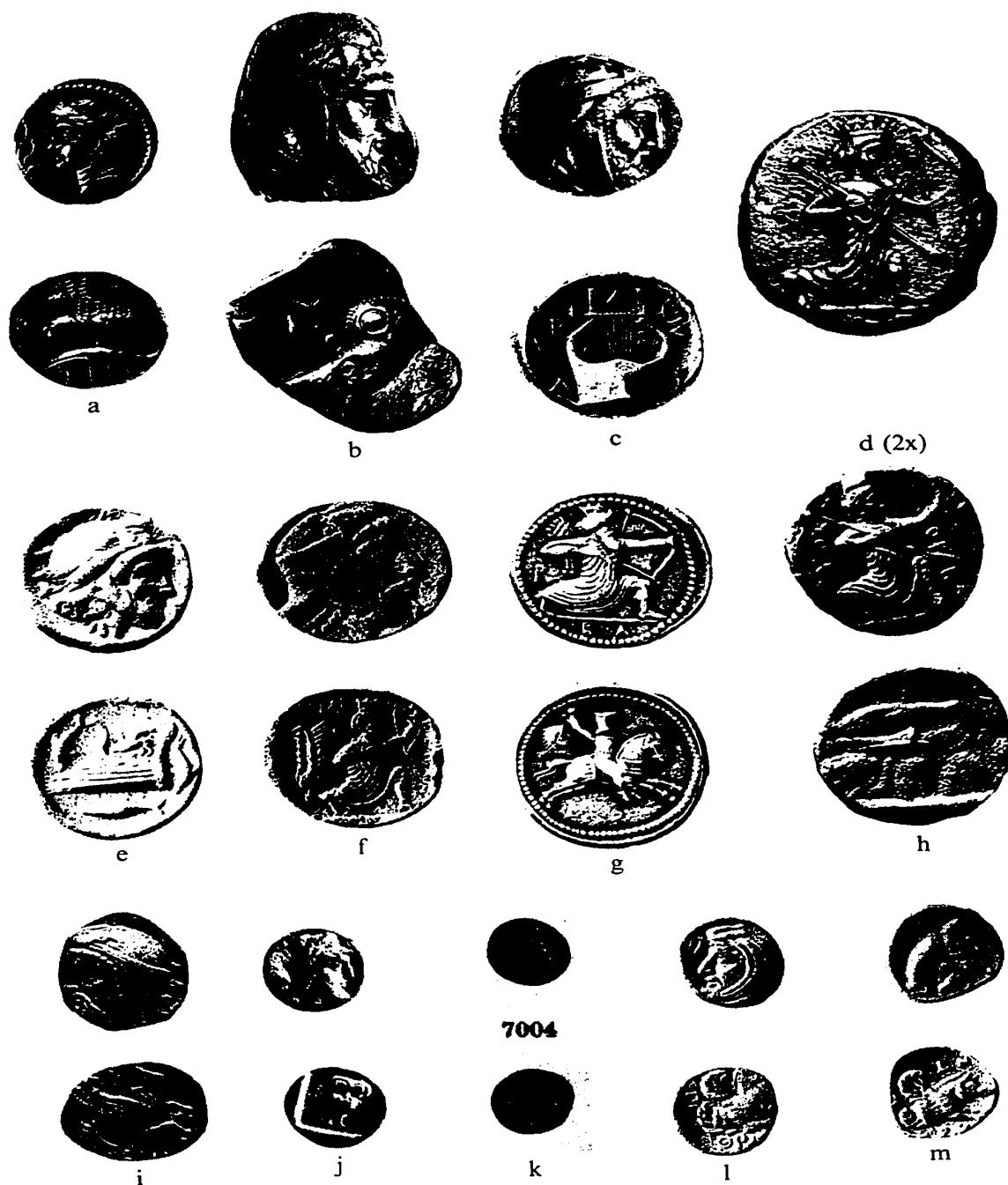
GRAVE STELE FROM ÇAVUŞKÖYÜ



RELIEF FROM DASCYLUM



SACRIFICIAL SCENE FROM DASCYLIUM

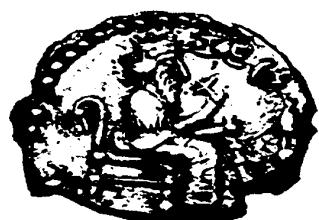


COINAGE OF ASIA MINOR





COINAGE OF CILICIA 2



a (2x)

b (2x)

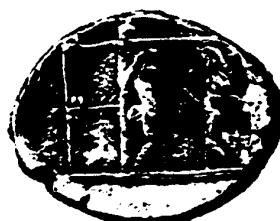
c (2x)



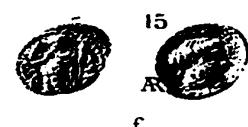
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d (2x)



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OBOLS : NABLUS HOARD AND CILICIA